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## First Impressions of Socialism Abroad.

No. 3. (*At the French Congress.*)

THE German congress was an impressive gathering of intelligent and wide-awake men. The Italian congress was full of excitement and pyrotechnics. The French congress, held in Limoges, in the heart of the great potteries, was impressive, enormously interesting and not without its fireworks. The delegates thought with a thoroughness, not inferior to that of the Germans, and debated with a vivacity and charm not exceeded by the Italians. They were men from the workshops, men from the study, men from the sanctum of the great journals; and there were there, men of international reputation in science, economics and politics. The congress was therefore not so exclusively working class as the German, nor so middle class as the Italian. Those who were intellectuals took their inspiration from the people, and those who had come from the workshops were as capable of thought and of leadership as were the intellectuals.

The movement in France is superb! It has all the necessary qualities and elements of a great party. If it has its opportunists it has also its impossibilists. If it has its cautious ones it has also its impetuous ones. If it has its pure theorists it has also its thorough practitioners. And the balance is wonderful. But it is not the balance which comes from the dominance of one powerful mind. Criticism runs high, each tendency is represented by some mind and voice of a high order. And a tactic or a policy which runs the gauntlet of the keen and piercing intelligence of men of such different points of view is pretty

certain to be sound. About the best wish that I could make for the socialists of America would be that the French should bottle up some of this remarkable mixture of a Socialist Movement and send some of it over to us.

For the first time in my life I have seen some good resulting from divisions among socialists. The socialists are to-day united, but for thirty or more years they have been separated into various groups, sometimes attacking each other, often competing with each other, and at times wickedly maligning each other. Again and again they have achieved some sort of unity, only to break again into bitterly antagonistic groups. Schism after schism occurred, and the weary years of propaganda dragged on, without that unity of the proletariat that was the watchword and fundamental doctrine of all their teaching. There was a bad side to these divisions which I would be the last to wish to minimize, but at least it had one good result. It produced great men, great debaters, great propagandists, and powerful polemical writers, and now that unity has come and all the men of the old groups are fighting together for the common end, the French party has in its fold, more brilliant and capable men than any other party I know of. Each of the four or five old parties has contributed to the united party its quota of extraordinary men. Some of the groups had drawn to themselves the ablest minds from among the workers, others had drawn from the intellectual proletariat men of brilliant ability, and all together contribute now to the united party the valuable results of their divided labors. It is inspiring to think that this same end may some time be attained in England, and when it is, the men constituting the socialists of Great Britain will rival in ability even those of the French party. Think for instance of Hyndman, Burrows, Quelch, Irving, Thorne, Hardie, Snowden, Russel, Williams, Barnes, O'Grady, Blatchford, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Sydney Webb, Olivier and Hobson all together in one great national party. One thing at least is certain, staid respectable old England would have a merry time of it, and a national congress of the party would not be as dull as, for example, a ladies' sewing circle.. This is, however, all speculation. But in France the thing has happened.

Let us therefore go back to the potteries. The evening before the first regular session of the congress was devoted to propaganda. About thirty meetings were held in all parts of this great industrial district. All of the best orators of the party were down for speeches and some of the comrades from foreign countries were put into the service. For one night the full strength of the united party was devoted to the work of assisting the local federation in its propaganda. Simultaneously in Limoges and in many of the small neighboring towns and even



among the peasants, the guns of socialism were turned to account and the speakers of the party were rushed from one meeting to another as soon as they had finished their addresses in one part of the district. It was a beastly night. It rained torrents and the streets rivalled those of Chicago. We all waded to the meetings which were full to overflowing—not with mud and rain—but with enthusiastic workingmen. After the meeting we splashed back through the mud and rain to the one cheerful and warm place in this abominable center of industrialism—the co-operative restaurant. And there gathered nearly all the congressists and many of the local workingmen to partake of the jug of wine and the loaf of bread which Omar in his poem of the potter so warmly commends.

The congress itself was held in a big barnlike structure, which belonged to the Co-operative Union of Limoges and which under ordinary circumstances served as a great storehouse for their supplies. Two splendid banners were displayed above the platform. One bore the magnificent motto of modern socialism, which has become its rallying cry throughout the world, and which carries in its five words both the philosophy and the program of the contemporary struggle for freedom: "Proletarians of all Countries Unite!" The other, a banner with letters of gold, breathed forth the spirit of internationalism with which the French movement is specially permeated and glorified: "*Parti Socialiste: Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière.*" This then is a congress of a great national section of the International Socialist Party!

At ten o'clock in the morning, 220 delegates, representing sixty-seven sections of the French party and several foreign parties or sections, took their seats at the tables, provided for the delegates, and the third congress of the National Socialist Party was declared in session, by the secretary of the local federation of Limoges. They were a strong looking lot of men, and while, as I have said, the middle class element was large, the delegates were mainly workingmen.

I almost instantly picked out Jules Guède, that tireless propagandist, who is perhaps more responsible for the socialist movement of France, than any other one man. One would remark him anywhere. The pallor of his dark skin gives one a first impression of physical weakness. He has great masses of long black hair which he tosses back over his head and ears. He is upwards of sixty, but his eyes still burn and his thought comes like flashes of lightning. Every expression, word and act tell of what he is and of what he has always been. He is a zealot. His whole being loathes the system under which we live, and he fights it, not calmly, but at fever heat. His voice is piercing and almost painful at times, but his thought is as clear as a

mountain stream and it tears its way through all obstacles at a rate which is almost unbelievable. He knows no compromise and he gives no quarter. He is fearless and imperious. His words come like rapier thrusts and he often uses them as unmercifully. To the reader of this description Guèsde may not seem a lovable personality, but no one can forget that he, Jules Guèsde, has been starved, exiled, imprisoned, hunted with blood hounds, and tracked like a murderer in order to crush him and forever to hush his voice. Before I was born he was in revolt against the system and had already been condemned for five years, and when many of us were in our mothers' arms, he was like the wandering Jew, hungry, in rags, and homeless, preaching socialism even to those who stoned him. The fine jovial face with merry twinkling eyes and the white hair in abundance is Paul La Fargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx. One could see that it must be he who had written the fantastic socialist tracts, which we have all read with such pleasure, and who, as Emile Vandervelde has said, loves nothing so much as to shock the timid by his extreme paradoxes. By the side of Guèsde sits Gustave Delory of Lille, who, I am told, was breaking stones on the streets two years before he was elected mayor of that great city, and who is now a deputy in parliament. In both places he has astonished friend and foe alike by his extraordinary ability. The strongly built, grey bearded man, with blue glasses and a small cap, is Edouard Vaillant, the veteran revolutionist, who was the leader of the "Commune," that terrible insurrection of '71. It has been said that he once made the remark that he had never known any kind of a revolution that he was not in favor of. He is still fighting at the head of the movement, and perhaps no other man in France is more long-headed in times of stress than Vaillant. Jaurès sits far away to the back of the room. He is a short, thickset man, powerfully built, with an immense head. He shows in every movement of his body, his quickness of action, his tireless energy and the enormous quantity of physical and mental power which he possesses. One can feel the sentiment of the south in him. He is a man of emotion whose whole being revolts at the cruelties, the miseries, the brutality of the present system. And one can see that he likes to be in the thick of the fight. He reminds me most strikingly of Senator La Follette. Physically and mentally as well as in their power of debate and oration they are as alike as two brothers. Beside the men I have mentioned there were many others of international renown, such as, for instance, Gustave Hervé, the great apostle of anti-militarism, who has only recently come out of prison for his propaganda among the conscripts.

But I should take too much space if I were to attempt to describe the noted men who were there. There were others al-



most as well known as those named, and many younger men of brilliant ability who are fully prepared to take the places of the older when they are gone. My purpose must be now to tell a little of the work of the congress. Perhaps the most important question was the relation between the trade unions and the socialist movements. This is the most important question before the socialist movement in all countries, except possibly in Belgium where the movement of the workers, politically and industrially is closely and firmly united. It was the real problem back of the discussion of the general strike in Germany, and it was also at the bottom of all the discussions in the Italian congress. And with us in America, it is one which must be solved or the socialist movement may long continue in its present ineffective position.

The question was brought before the congress upon a motion made by the Guèsdists. This motion was aimed against the neutrality of the unions. In France, as in Italy, the trade unions are extremely revolutionary, and the most advanced wing and some of the most ardent fighters in the unions are bitterly opposed to parliamentary methods. Some of them are of course anarchists and others are "syndicalists," that is to say, believers in direct action by the workers themselves, by means of the general strike. The Guèsdists wished to begin a war upon these elements in the unions, and by resolution, to condemn the independent action of the unions. It also called for the constitution of a permanent committee to consolidate the federation of labor and the Socialist Party. This resolution submitted by the Guèsdists called forth an immense and heated debate. Two days and all of one night were consumed in discussion. About forty delegates inscribed their names for the debate, but after several had spoken it was seen that this debate alone would occupy the entire time of the congress unless some limits were put either as to time or as to the number of speakers. As the French have a prejudice against time limits, it was decided to ask all those desiring to speak to retire and select from among themselves those who were best fitted to place the various points of view before the congress. Eleven out of the thirty who still desired to speak were then selected. Among those selected were Jaurés, Hervé, Allemane, and Guèsde. The debate was both brilliant and instructive. It represented every point of view. I might almost say that Debs, Berger, Hayes, De Leon, and Simons spoke, because, while some of the debate comprehended questions which we do not have in America, much of the debate was upon the relative power of the two organizations, the one upon the economic, the other upon the political fields, to achieve the emancipation of the working classes. The only view that was not represented was that of the pure and simple trade union-

ist, for there is no one of importance in the labor movement in France that would consider that the movement of the working classes should concern itself merely with a struggle for shorter hours and better wages. Nor on the other hand would anyone suggest that the labor movement should ally itself with one of the old parties. The movement is too far advanced here for that. The fundamental question is whether the unions shall themselves take industry into their own hands, by means of the general strike and any other revolutionary method available, or whether they shall pursue the parliamentary method and in this way gradually capture the state and through it socialize industry.

So much for the ground of the debate.. The Guèsdists are revolutionary parliamentarians, and they are so convinced that the workers can do nothing without having the state in their hands, that they are apt to underestimate the value of the trade unions. Beside this the Guèsdists would like to drive all the anarchists and syndicalists out of their positions of power in the unions. The opposing elements in the party, like Vaillant and Jaurés desire to leave the unions independent of the party, and to neutralize the propaganda of the anarchists by their own. Vaillant feared that the resolutions of the Guèsdists would only serve to aggravate the conflict between the party and the unions. The congress, he said, ought to affirm the necessity of the economic movement and it ought not to wish to subordinate the unions to the party. The congress ought to recognize the Federation of Labor as the economic unity of the proletariat and to say that the socialist party will give it every aid in its economic struggle. This was very much the trend of the debate against the motion. Jaurés made a very long but, it seemed to me, a not very effective address, although it was delivered with all the power and magnetism of his personality and impressive oratory.

There was an effort made by both sides to arrive at an amicable settlement of the difference of opinion, but neither side could conscientiously yield upon the question vitally at issue. After two days of discussion, representatives of the varying views were sent into a special committee to arrive, if possible at a compromise. After sitting most of the night without reaching a settlement, the two following resolutions were submitted to vote. That supported by the Guèsdists was as follows:

"Considering that it is the same class, the same proletariat, which organizes itself and acts, now on the economic field through its unions, and now on the political field through its socialist party;

"Considering that if these two methods of action and of organization of the same class can not be blended, as they are, and must remain distinct in their end and methods, they cannot ignore one another, without mortally dividing the proi-



etariat against itself and rendering it incapable of emancipating itself;

"There is cause to see to it that, according to circumstances, the trade union action and the political action of the workers may be able to work in concert and unison."

That supported by Jaurés, Vaillant and others was as follows:

"The congress, convinced that the working class will only be able to fully free itself by the combined force of trade union and political action, by the unions going as far as the general strike, and by the conquest of all the political power, in view of the general expropriation of capitalism;

"Convinced that this double action will be so much the more efficacious as the political organizations and the economic organizations shall have their complete autonomy;

"Taking official notice of the resolution of the trade union congress at Amiens, which affirms the independence of the trade union movement of all political parties and which assigns at the same time to the economic movement an end which the socialists alone as a political party, recognize and pursue;

"Considering that the fundamental agreement of the political and economic action of the proletariat will necessarily bring about, without confusion or subordination or defiance a free co-operation between the two organizations;

"Invite all militants to do their best to dissipate all misunderstanding between the Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party."

These two resolutions were put to the vote and the last was carried by 148 mandates against 130 with nine abstentions. The closeness of the vote shows that the policy of the party in this matter is not finally settled. And it is needless to say that had the vote gone the other way it would have offered no solution to the relation which must exist between these two great movements of the working class. The solution lies not so much in resolutions as in convincing the proletariat that there is danger in the present friction between those who would take the view that parliamentary action is alone necessary to emancipate the working class and those unionists who are constantly proclaiming that the economic movement with revolution at the end is the sole method worthy of engaging the energies of the proletariat.

Upon the report of the socialist group in Parliament another interesting discussion took place. This time it was the attitude that the party should take in its relation to the Clemenceau ministry. This ministry had been formed on the eve of the congress, and two of the ablest socialists, Briand and Viviani had

taken posts in the new cabinet, and Millerand, a former member of the party, had been offered a portfolio, but had refused it. The entire cabinet was made up of men of radical opinion, and the parliamentary session at hand promised to be one of the most interesting that France had recently had. There were many questions upon which the opinion of the socialist party could not be easily distinguished from that of the ministry. It was decided therefore that there should be a resolution formulated expressing the views of the congress as to the relation which should exist. After some discussion, in which Jaurés and Guèsde took part, the following resolution was passed:

"The congress, considering that any change in the personnel of a capitalist government could not in any way modify the fundamental policy of the party, puts the proletariat on its guard against the insufficiency of a program, even the most advanced, of the 'democratic bourgeoisie';

"It recalls to the workers that their liberation will only be possible through the coming of the social ownership of capital, that there is no socialism except in the socialist party, organized and unified, and that its representation in parliament, while striving to realize the reforms which will augment the force of action and the demands of the proletariat, shall at the same time, oppose unceasingly, to all restricted and too often illusory programs, the reality and integrity of the socialist ideal."

Everyone rejoiced that there was no serious difference of opinion in this matter, for many had feared that Jaurés would be inclined to view favorably the new government. The passing of the above resolution without a dissenting view proved beyond question that the party was firmly cemented in its bonds of union, and needless to say it was a cause of supreme happiness to the entire congress. In a discussion on the previous day, Jaurés said to a few comrades who were speaking to him of this resolution and "the socialists," Briand and Viviani, "Outside of the unified party, there are no socialists."

Unity, submission to the will of the majority of the party, friendly words between those of different views on tactics, the absence of ill feeling of any kind, all of these things impressed one with the new life of the French movement. The desire for accord was so great that Hervé remarked on one occasion that the congress was afflicted with a strange malady, that of unanimity. One could still see everywhere the signs of the old divisions, and occasionally they seemed on the point of breaking forth in their old lines of battle, but the spirit of unity was too strong, and I am sure that Guèsde expressed the view of everyone who attended that congress when he said to me afterward with joy, "Unity has come to stay, and there is no man in the



socialist party who is strong enough to destroy it." This is the word of courage that thirty years or more of splits, differences, quarrels and schisms of the French socialist movement now sends forth to the world.

But I have said much more than I intended to say upon the work of the congress. I fear it is not very interesting to the reader and certainly not very instructive to those in America, who have altogether different conditions to face. What I have been trying to do in these articles is to convey some general impressions of the personnel and power of the movement in Europe. Therefore a word as to one thought that has been running through my head again and again while attending these congresses. It is not a thought of programs, tactics, personalities, brilliant phrases, or profound economics. It is a thought of democracy, mere political democracy. I have come from a country where democracy is no more, a country in which the people are dominated, corralled and voted not like free citizens but like sheep, a country in which the machine and the boss control and dominate political life. In their turn they are financed and commanded by the corporations, who need political power in order that they may more perfectly rob the very voters that are the source of their power. I have seen workingmen go, hat in hand, to their lordly representatives to be for legislative justice. I have seen their officially constituted commissions lobbying piteously in the halls of their own legislatures. I have seen the bills of the working class mutilated and emasculated, by the very men that the votes of the workingmen have elected. I have seen legislators smother in committee, bills which aimed at preventing union men from being killed by dangerous machines. These and countless other like things have I seen in the "home of the brave and the land of the free." But now I am in the old fatherlands, the lands of autocracies, kings and oppression and what do I see? In Germany seventy-eight members of the Reichstag, in Italy twenty-one members of the Chamber of Deputies, in France fifty-two members, and in Belgium thirty members,—all direct representatives of the working class. I have seen all of these representatives sitting at the same tables with the workingmen, with trade union officials, and their constituents, taking their instructions. I have seen a great brawny miner who had but a few hours before laid aside his drills, washed and dressed himself, sitting opposite his political representative, and therefore servant, explaining the defects in the mining law. I have seen these official representatives in parliament, most of them workingmen it must be said, facing the criticism of men direct from the workshops. They were not the lords and governors of the workers, they were in parliament to execute their bidding. If they failed to do so, this street sweeper under my window,

might, for all I know, go to his section meeting to-night to formulate charges against his representative. This is political democracy, the government of the people by the people and for the people. I go about among these workingmen of these kingdoms, aristocracies and autocracies with a kind of reverence for their wisdom and self-reliance, and if I am sometimes sick at heart at the thought of growing oppression and decaying democracy in the land of my home and heart, then the sight of our foreign brothers brings courage and revives in me that confidence in the wisdom and power of the masses, whose destiny has been and is to create lands of freedom, justice and democracy in all parts of the wide world.

ROBERT HUNTER.



## Why the Workingman is Without a Church.

**S**TUDENTS of history, whose investigations have been illuminated by the principle of historic materialism, do not need to be told that the ritualistic churches of Christendom were the direct outgrowth of the feudal system, and a perfect reflection of the semi-barbaric culture of the middle ages. More than that, they were, for the feudal nobility, a practical administrative expedient of the highest value, employing as could no other agency, the terrors of superstition to support the fabric of baronial oppression. It was a matter of course, therefore, that when the bourgeois revolt came, the new trading class should find itself outside the established church, and even in direct conflict with it. But the bourgeoisie did not, except for a time in France, become irreligious. On the contrary, a new church organization, or rather group or organizations, was founded by it, which ministered to its religious needs, and also formed an instrument for the preservation of its dominance, second in efficiency only to the service rendered to the feudal aristocracy by the ritualistic establishments. Not only did the democratic organization, the somber service and the individualistic piety of the evangelical churches mirror the social ideals and daily life of the bourgeoisie, but the peculiar austerity of the new morality was excellently adapted to check in the wage-worker the vice which would impair his efficiency as a laborer, and the personal indulgence or amusement which would lead him to demand higher wages for its satisfaction. In short, the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding its revolt from feudal constraint and its hostility toward the ritualistic churches, needed and found a fresh organic expression of religious sentiment and life.

Now, some hundreds of years later, a new economic class is rising to power in opposition to the bourgeoisie, and again, naturally and inevitably, finds itself outside that church which is the creation and instrument of its opponent. The workingman is outside the church of today because the church belongs to his master and voices only the interest of the capitalistic class. This is so obvious as to become a sociological platitude, and even to penetrate the minds, here and there, of the good clergy themselves. But the distinctive peculiarity of the modern revolt is that the revolutionary proletariat has neither founded any religious organization of its own, nor shown the slightest disposition to do so. Individual wage-workers may be religious, but the proletariat as a class is serenely indifferent to spiritual things,

not to say happily irreligious. Why is this? Why has not the working-class evolved a religion especially its own, or at least accepted the eager offer of the Catholic church in America or of certain of the smaller Protestant denominations to function as a proletarian church? For disciples of the brilliant Italian, Loria, the answer is easy. The proletariat is without a religious organization *because it has no subject class to oppress and exploit*. It has no need of the repressive and disciplinary influence which it is the business of a church to exert, it does not require the social machinery for the perversion and suppression of natural egoism, because there is none beneath it to be kept in unwilling subjection. There is, therefore, no economic service which a religious organization can render to the proletariat.

The declaration of the German comrades that "religion is a private affair," was much more than a tactical maneuver. It was a profound prophecy. With no man economically interested in the religious belief of his fellows, and no necessity for an ecclesiastical organization to enforce such an interest, with the natural egoism of the individual harmonizing with and furthering, under a sane industrial system; the general interests of society, it is manifest that religion must cease to be a matter of social concern. Religious and philosophical views, divested of economic significance or consequence, become mere subjects of academic discussion and difference, and no longer furnish groundwork for rigid organization, or material for envenomed debate. Religion must always be, for the proletariat, in view of its position as the lowest class in society, a private affair.

The failure of modern churches to espouse the cause of the working-class, is not merely due, as superficial observers are apt to think to the fact that their support is derived directly from the exploiting class. They are purchasable, the support received is in many instances none too large, and if the proletariat were to offer substantial, even if still less liberal, support, it would have no difficulty in winning church bodies to its cause. The chasm between the churches as social institutions and the working-class, is deeper than this. It is more than a mere matter of monetary allegiance. It is fundamental, unbridgeable, because the proletariat has no end to serve by maintaining an ecclesiastical establishment. For a church to become a distinctively proletarian organization would be to disband. It is the half-unconscious perception of this lethal atmosphere, which compels all churches to remain the instruments of the oppressing classes.

Of course the purposelessness, for the proletariat, of religious organization, has nothing to do with the tenets of religious faith. One may be a class-conscious proletarian of the most aggressive type, and adhere implicitly to a rigid Christian or-



thodoxy of philosophical conception. Religious or philosophical belief, and proletarian loyalty and activity, are irrelevant to each other. This is the essence of the declaration that religion is a private affair. And from these considerations is apparent the eternal futility, not to say the mischievousness, of the efforts of certain comrades to foist upon the working-class a cut-and-dried system of religious or philosophical beliefs or disbeliefs. Whether it be a revamping of the militant atheism of the eighteenth century (Bax), or of the dogmatic agnosticism of the nineteenth (Ladoff), or of the crude and rather stupid materialism of the same era (Untermann), or whether, at the other extreme, it be Spiritualism, apocalyptic mysticism or primitive Christianity, the various systems, each heralded as the "religion of socialism," or the "religion of the proletariat," signify no more than the failure of their promoters to grasp the true social function of religion and the true economic position of the working-class. The real proletarian attitude on these matters must always be, from the necessities of the case, one of perfect individual freedom and collective indifference.

CLARENCE MEILY.

## The National Strike.

### II.

Out in pretty Cabanne, the land holders cut down the many fine trees to provide themselves with fuel for a time. But in a few days it was not a question of fuel, but a question of food, and there began a general exodus from the city. Thousands of people of all classes, leaving their houses, their "valuables" and property of every kind, streamed out into the country. It was back to Nature with a vengeance. I saw them in droves, in flocks, in herds, like sheep or cattle, flowing out the Olive Street Road, the millionaire's wife and daughter shoulder to shoulder with the shop girl and the house maid; the banker next the proletarian; the hodman lockstepping with the merchant prince. "Here, indeed," I thought, "is humanity stripped of its frills and furbelows. Here they are back to the realities of life. And here is the opportunity of Love and Fraternity. In this herd of refugees from the collapse of a decayed civilization, where now is the snob? Who is there to command, and who to serve? Where is the master? Where the hireling?"

It did my soul good to see the acts of kindness simple, pure, and unaffected, enacted here, there, and everywhere.

"Surely," I thought, "though there result much suffering and many calamities, it is well that these things have come about: for what else save so good a mixing of the clay, could illustrate to mankind its essential unity? What else could make them know and feel so well their dependence and interdependence?"

And I noticed that, in the main, it was among them who had been poor, that deeds of kindness, natural, touching, and spontaneous had their most plenteous source. Many of them that had been rich marched along, the men muttering curses and imprecations, the women pouring forth hysterical cries and prayers. But among those who had been the dispossessed there was shown little of the spirit of revenge or vulgar triumph.

I saw the wife of a tobacco magnate, her fingers flashing with gems, her shoulders carrying a heavy burden of ermine and rich furs, begging bread of a poor old bent market woman. And the old soul, her eyes moist with compassion, gave it to her, readily; nor would accept the dazzling ring which the recipient of her charity offered her in return. "Nay, nay, thank you," she said, shaking her head, and revealing her toothless gums in a broad smile; "it is but a bright pebble: why should



I want it? I am glad to give you the bread. Why do you wish to pay me for it?"

A moment later I saw a great manufacturer whose reputation was almost world-wide, asking of an erstwhile pauper a drink of brandy for his sick wife. What made it more remarkable was that the pauper, a seller of shoestrings and pencils, had once been an humble tenant of the manufacturer, and had been evicted for non-payment of rent. But he bore no malice toward his former landlord. Long had he known in his lowly way, perchance, that the distinctions of property were neither of God nor Nature. He gave the brandy gladly, nor seemed to marvel or exult that a turn of events had brought such strange things to pass.

Out on the Clayton Road I fell in with a group of the dispossessed and could not but overhear some of their talk.

"The end of the world has surely come," said a corpulent gentleman, whom I recognized as a notable figure, but a few days since potent on 'Change; "our nation is ruined. The people are infernal fools. They are cutting their own throats. I made thirty thousand in stocks last week, and where is it to-day? Where are my rents for my down-town property? Where are my dividends from the companies in which I am a director? The social gear is out of order. Our city is Bedlam. The mob have seized the provisions. Nobody will work for me—not even for money."

"Yes," replied a heavy-set, red-faced politician, "the masses are surely mad. Property values are utterly destroyed. It is now a question of something to eat. We are face to face with fundamental problems. He who can get the bare necessities of life is lucky."

"Capital may be the mother of labor," put in a lawyer, who for many years had been an unscrupulous but invaluable hireling for several large corporations; "but at present she seems to be practicing race suicide. What good are money, stocks, bonds, interest, and dividends unless you can get a lot of fools to work for you? What does it avail a man to be a Croesus if he has to wash his own shirts, bake his own bread, clean his own shoes, and even cut his own hair?"

"Well," remarked the chubby bishop of an influential See; "for my part I realize, as I never did before that charity begins at home, and should stay there until it can do nothing more, when it will be time enough to send missionaries, whiskey, and civilization to the healthy, happy heathen. Whereas, we gave them Christ for the hereafter, it now appears that we sometimes gave them the devil for this world. . . . I'm fearfully hungry. . . . If I and my brethren of the cloth had devoted more time to real issues and less to dogmas and rituals, perhaps we would have

stemmed the tide of these frightful disasters. Alas! I was a good man in my way, but I never had the courage to attack the palpable but powerful injustices of our national life.... Oh, for a piece of that duck I ate last week in Vandeventer Place! And the puddings, the sauces, the condiments, the wines, — gentlemen, I tell you they were delicious!"

"Don't have such vivid reminiscences, if you please, Bishop; or at least don't express them aloud, said a real estate man, whose boasted *embonpoint* was rapidly diminishing. "I am nearly famished myself. I hope the farmers will feed us when we get out into the country."

"The farmers nearly all are union men," put in a bestial-faced quondam owner of a thriving bucket shop. "The American Society of Equity and The Farmer's Co-operative Business Congress unionized and organized them years ago. They have struck with the rest of the workers. The grain trusts, the railroad freight charges, the cornerers of the market, the monopolies of farm machinery, and the exploitation of that surplus capital, which seeking investment, at last took to bonanza farming, brought them to their senses years ago and made them class-conscious. It was simply a matter of self-preservation with them, as it was with the other workers and creators of wealth. It was union or die. At last they came into the American Federation of Labor. They constitute thirty-five per cent. of our entire population. With them lies the strength of the Revolutionists. For we are all dependent upon the farmers. Civilization rests on the shoulders of the men who till the soil. All art, all science, all law, all glory, power, and greatness owes its being to the man who sweats in the fields. With him lies the destiny of the Nation."

"I have read somewhere," said the Bishop, that the Economic of a polity determined the Politic, the Religion, and the Ethic. I wonder what it means."

"I do not know, I am sure," replied the president of a brokerage company, — a man whose possessions and forceful assurance had placed him high in the councils of State: "I do not know, I am sure; but maybe we shall find out now. This upheaval will no doubt show us many hidden meanings in things."

"I dare say," rejoined the Bishop, sadly. "Meantime we can only pray that order may come from this fierce and frightful seething of the political cauldron, and that our lives may be spared us. I am a man of peace, and am willing to lay aside my cassock and rake hay for some honest farmer until things settle themselves, and our social system is running again. God grant that our people may not lapse into savagery. I do not fancy wearing a breech-clout, or seeing my children grow up



with rings in their noses and all manner of strange creatures tattooed on their backs."

"Be not disheartened, comrades, interposed a fair-haired, intelligent-looking young stranger, whom I had not noticed before. "Things will settle themselves again; but on a new basis. These are the birth-pangs of a new epoch. We are writing a glorious page in history to-day. There are blots on it—aye, even smudges of blood. But what matters it! I see, that from this time, Humanity starts on a new tact, whose goal lies little short of godhood. There shall be struggles, hardships, discouragements, adjustments, before the day is won entirely. Time must pass ere all the harmonies can be sounded. Yet, nevertheless, now is the day of joy and glory, for the people are awakened and the blow has been struck. From this time on, we shall set up new ideals; and the greatness of men and the reality of their successes shall be measured by new standards. Old values are broken. Enough of us know to point the way and guide the masses. Democracy has scored another victory. Mankind has scaled another rung towards its bright destiny. Rejoice that America leans the van in a world-wide regeneration. Now shall the nations fall in line to freedom's quickstep, and ere long the whole wide world shall swing along in the conscious march of Human Progress. Cheer up, my friends, these clouds shall pass, and we shall all be able to catch a glimpse of the glorious vistas of the future, stretching away into illimitable time."

Saying which he passed on and was lost in the throng. And they, children of the old order, that had heard him, and had seen the light of hope, knowledge and prophesy in his face, stood there for a moment blinking at one another, as persons who half understand, as seekers for the full blaze of that great light whose glimmerings had at last penetrated their souls.

But why write of these things now. Already has the news come that in the National Convention at Washington, the industrial despots and tyrants have bowed their heads to the will of the people, and acknowledged the sovereignty of them that work. The transition to the co-operative commonwealth will not be a bloody one. The luxurious old drones and parasites, the brutish exploiters, the ruthless apostles of greed and force are not to be hanged or burnt as some had supposed. Many of them are to retain their position as captains of industries on comfortable salaries—captains of industries that are now owned, controlled, and run not for private profit, but for the welfare of the entire people. Thank God it has come. The dawn is bright but the day will be far brighter. We are to have a scientific organization of society along industrial lines. The questions of livelihood, comfort, and a sane life will be forever answered. If, under intelligent guidance, every one works three hours a day,

it will be more than enough to supply all the necessities and luxuries of our modern life. We can now pass on to our children a heritage of security, independence, and true manhood and womanhood. Now that the problem of subsistence is answered once and for all, men can look up from the ground and the sordid paths of avarice, and with a mental and spiritual vision ever brightening, see things undreamed of before. Now have we ploughed and made ready the soil for that love and fraternity which science tells us is the fairest flower — and not the root of progress. Now has begun the time when "Those who take honors in Nature's university, who learn the laws which govern men and things, and obey them, are the really great and successful men in this world." Charity shall cease when justice reigns. And the time will come when men, knowing the nature of things, shall no longer dally with effects, but hurl their remedies at the cause of wrong. Posterity will reap the full rich harvest. But to us of to-day there shall be a joy and a glad peace in knowing that we laid the foundations for the splendid future; that we put our shoulders to the wheel and did our best in the face of selfish narrowness, calumny, hatred, and antagonistic power; that we gave the world an impetus which shall never cease till all men have become—

"A race of peace-robed conquerors and kings,  
Achieving evermore diviner things."

FRANCIS MARSHALL ELLIOTT.

## To Ernest Howard Crosby.

(Mr. Crosby, lawyer, lecturer, author, legislator and social reformer, died suddenly, January 3, in Baltimore.—Press dispatch.)

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A man of strong and noble parts has gone.  
Yea, one whose love for fellow man  
Knew neither limit, line nor ban,  
Of gentle birth with easy lot, yet he  
A poet was of real democracy  
Did mankind suffer or where'er distress,  
His voice was ever raised for those oppressed.  
Hater of war, exposing every wrong,  
Author of note, writer of stirring song,  
Learned in the law, man of majestic mien,  
Speech of great power and pleading ne'er in vain.  
Made of stern stuff, he knew not what was fear,  
Tho' left alone, cared naught for taunt or jeer.  
Ofttimes misunderstood, yet what cared he,  
Conscience-approved, he worked unceasingly.  
Lover of truth, he ever blazed the way  
To help mankind, to lift humanity.  
Man of ten thousand, highest tribute pay,  
He lived, not for himself, but all society.  
Rome, N. Y., Jan. 12, 1907.

EDWARD PERKINS CLARKE.



## Oligarchy and Imperialism.

More and more the literature of socialism in America is becoming an American socialist literature. It deals with American problems, draws its illustrations from American life and is in every sense of the word indigenous. The latest accession to this new class of works is a book by Austin Lewis on "The Rise of the American Proletarian."\*

The introductory chapters give a general survey of the proletariat as a class. Its relation to industrial development and American progress are well described. Although this task has been done so many times before by socialist writers, seldom, if ever, has it been done in a more condensed and accurate manner.

The American proletariat can scarcely be said to have arisen as a distinct class until about the time of the War of 1812, and has grown into a prominent factor only since the Civil War. It is with this modern period, which he treats under the title of "Oligarchy and Imperialism" that Comrade Lewis is at his best. There is so much that is good in this chapter and it gives so good a general idea of the whole work that we reproduce the larger portion of it herewith.

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Following the period just described, we come to another, in which the psychological tendencies of the newly developed, but speedily omnipotent commercial and industrial classes, made themselves apparent. Legislation, the administration of justice, and national policy very soon bore witness to the power of the new idea. The old faiths which had suffered grievously in the early part of that period which immediately succeeded the Civil War were attacked more fiercely, so that the merest remnants remained of that vigorous Americanism which had exercised so profound an influence over the youth of the country and which had been the very symbol of individual liberty and democracy in government. Internal politics on the legislative side responded rapidly to the new tendencies but not more rapidly than did the law courts, so that strange and hitherto unheard of applications of ancient legal remedies were employed in a fashion which left no doubt of the intention of the jurists to interpret the law in terms of the new conditions.

Never has the effect of the influence of economic facts upon legislative and judicial forms been more evident. Just as the industrial development in this country proceeded more rapidly than in others by virtue of the entire newness of the conditions and the freedom from artificial restraints, so the necessary legis-

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\* The Rise of the American Proletarian. By Austin Lewis. Chicago, Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 213 pages, \$1.00.

lation and legal decisions were more easily obtained here than elsewhere. The possession of the political machinery by the greater capitalists and the dependence of the judiciary upon politics gave the commercial revolutionists control of the avenues of expression. The capitalization of the press and its employment by the same agencies was another very important factor in bringing about the same result. Practically all the channels through which force could be employed were in the hands of this class at the beginning of this period and the ease with which success was achieved tends to show the thoroughness of the preparations which had been made to render it complete. It is not too much to say that in this period a revolution was accomplished which, for scope and magnitude, probably transcends any revolution of which we have knowledge. No merely political revolutions can be even compared with it. The industrial revolution which in the short space of twenty-five years converted England from a country in which the domestic industry was dominant to a modern machine-industry community is, probably, unless we except Japanese development, the only other instance of so sudden and complete a change. But it took many years for Great Britain to modify her political and juristic systems sufficiently to render them the best expressions of the new economic realities, whereas, it required but a very short time to convert the Senate into a body recognized as the supporter of the commercial and industrial lords and to make the House of Representatives but a large committee for the registering of decrees to carry out the mandates of the same masters. The government of the country was henceforward to be carried on in the name of those interests which were sufficiently powerful to set the machinery in motion.

That collectivism which follows unavoidably in the train of concentration of industry did not show itself as a collectivism supposedly benefiting the whole community. State socialism to which this industrial development has given so great an impetus on the continent of Europe made but little headway here. Such collectivism as there was consisted in the collectivism of a class against society. The great capitalists pooled their interests and directed their united force to a campaign of public plunder. \*\*\* And when the amount of wealth produced under the new system bade fair to choke the channels of distribution in this country, the demands of the manufacturers and commercialists for foreign markets brought a new idea into American foreign politics. So that the country which had been hitherto self-contained and which had framed all its foreign policy upon the notion of its inviolability and independence and its freedom from the embroilments of foreign powers, leaped into the arena of international strife, and in a few weeks added an empire to its

possessions and became a great modern imperial power, having subject under its sway so-called inferior peoples, who could never in the very nature of things become citizens of the Republic.

### CRISIS OF 1893.

This new period began, appropriately enough, with a crisis, one of those inevitable breakdowns which serve, much as war does, to clear the air and to eliminate numbers of the unnecessary. The crisis of 1893 displayed itself in the first place as a financial crisis, though it was followed by an industrial collapse which showed plainly that unrestricted competition was still productive of its old effects, and that republican institutions and a high tariff afforded no security against those maladies which have so grievously afflicted the peoples of all modern countries.

\* \* \*

The elimination of numbers of middlemen and small producers has always been the essential characteristic result of industrial disturbance. On the other hand the reinforcement of the working class by those better equipped who had fallen into its ranks owing to the action of the crisis and the feeling of rebellion engendered in the minds of numbers of the working class by their sufferings and privations tended more and more to the building up of a self-conscious working class movement. Just in proportion as the greater capitalism made greater progress than heretofore by reason of the crisis of 1893, the phenomenal growth in power of the proletariat was, at least, equally noticeable. The crisis of 1873 produced an active working class movement, that of 1893 stimulated and informed it. Defeated economically and compelled to submit to conditions against which it had contended with increasing spirit, its wages lowered, its organizations much depleted and in some cases disrupted, it still kept its aim before it, and at the conclusion of the depression was ready to take the field again and to enter upon a more vigorous campaign for its demands.

The working class is the one constant factor. It is not possible to dispose of it. The crushing of its members under the weight of exploitation only serves to amalgamate its forces as a pebble walk is solidified by tamping.. Such gains as it makes stimulate its ambitions, awaken its energies, and drive it to seek still further successes at the expense of its natural and implacable enemy. The two forces, the organized capitalists and the organized laborers must face one another on both the political and economic fields. The crisis of 1893 made the lines of the respective armies more distinct and showed to many of those who had not hitherto perceived what was impending, the real social and political significance of modern industrial life.



## COMING OF THE TRUST.

This period was marked by the growth of a new form of industrial organization which had had a very important effect upon the politics and commercial enterprise of the nation and which appears destined to be a still more important factor in future. This phenomenon is classed under the general name of "trusts" and although much condemnation has been directed against it, it appears to be as simple and logical a development of industry as any of the other forms with which industrial evolution has made us familiar.

\* \* \*

This trust phenomenon is really a product of economic conditions since 1898, at which time the industrial depression which had set in with such intensity in 1893 subsided, and a period of buoyant optimism supervened, produced by a succession of good harvests and the popular enthusiasm and confidence which followed upon the termination of the Spanish War. The development of railroad industry had, up to this time, absorbed the bulk of invested capital, but the development and practically complete organization of the railroad stocks in very large quantities at low prices were no longer available. The field for investment of money, released by the feeling of security and the impetus given by the revival of prosperity, was discovered in industrials, and the energies of promoters were directed to the organization of industrial enterprise as outlets for capital seeking investment.

\* \* \*

But while the organization of the trusts made undoubtedly for economic advantage, and while the balance was unquestionably in favor of the new system, there were other effects which were very disturbing. Thus the concentration of the almost incredibly large masses of capital rendered the existence of the smaller firms so precarious as to be practically hopeless, and the outcry which was raised by the sufferers found its expression in jeremiads in the press and in a helpless political indignation which exahusted itself in the cry, "Down with the Trusts," but which was futile against the tremendous financial forces ranged on the side of the new organizations..

\* \* \*

## THE TRUST IN POLITICS.

The rapid organization of such colossal industrial enterprises could not fail to have a most profound effect upon all departments of national life, and the corrupting power of great sums of money used without stint or compunction by those who had

immediate pecuniary interests to serve was soon made evident. An era of corruption and debauchery set in much as had occurred subsequent to the Civil War, and the judiciary and the legislatures were exposed to the full force of the attack of corporate wealth. This descent of the trust organizers and controllers into politics was followed by results which do not reflect any credit upon the honesty and stability of legislative and judicial bodies in democratic communities where the standards are almost exclusively money standards, and where neither the social position nor the financial standing of those who are charged with the control of affairs is sufficient to support them against temptation.

The history of this period of prosperity is a long tale of official misconduct in almost every branch of governmental activity, municipal, state and national. An era of what is simply and cynically termed "graft" set in and the press teemed with revelations of official iniquity. Even the ordinary magazines made it a special point of detailing the operations by which the municipalities were robbed of their utilities, and showed to their own financial advantage and the interest of their purchasers the methods employed by industrial organizers in their efforts to make their organizations supreme. These revelations, while stimulating occasional outbursts of indignation and furnishing professors, clergymen and severely sober journals with opportunities for rhetorical and high flown denunciation, produced but little effect upon the community at large. They were regarded as natural and unavoidable concomitants of the system, and, in the general prosperity, were contemplated with equanimity. Now and again, an unusually bold piece of villainy would create a sensation, but, if the feelings engendered by such occurrences were analyzed, it would probably be discovered that admiration of the powers of the successful promoter was at least as marked as indignation against a public wrong.

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The new industries fell into the hands of a diminishing group of men who exercised an increasing amount of power, the oligarchy which had been foreshadowed even before 1893, was fast being realized, and had become an accomplished fact.

Henceforward the political tendencies of governmental centralization were to be more strongly marked than hitherto. The individualism of the state system began to be a serious obstacle in the path of political and economic progress, and it became only a question of time when the more complete commercial and industrial organization would be mirrored in a more complete political organization. The centralization of industry must necessarily find an expression in the centralization of governmental power. The question thereupon arose, at least by inference, as to which of the governmental organs was to be the representa-

tive of this centralization. There are two departments of the government, each capable of fulfilling that function. The senate by its limited numbers, its recognized role as the representative of the power of organized wealth, and its vast political influence might serve as an active executive committee of the economically powerful; or the President by virtue of his position as the nominal head of the State might act in the same capacity. So there was outlined a struggle between the President and the Senate which has already shown signs of increasing intensity, and which may conceivably, within a very short period develop into the most important incident in the unfolding of American political history.

The incongruity between a closely knit and highly organized economic system and a loosely connected bundle of individual states, any one of which may at any time seriously hamper and interfere with the economic organization, is so obvious that the permanence of the system cannot be seriously considered. The difficulty of course lies in so arranging the power of the units that the national economic system is not interfered with. But this becomes increasingly intricate in proportion as the development of industry transcends the limits of the individual states, and great enterprises come into existence whose ramifications and the extent of whose interests bring them into contact with the state legislatures at so many points. All sorts of impediments have arisen, therefore, to the development of the greater industry, but it, with a confidence born of security, has succeeded in using even these factors in its service, and by a discreet use of corruption funds ever increases its hold upon the various political systems of the individual states. This method is, however, costly, uncertain, and unsatisfactory, and therefore the cry for federal control arises, or for the federal supervision of transportation and other industries which overlap diverse sections of the community. Such "control" is under present circumstances a mere euphemism, for the economic forces are so far in control of the political that any claim on the part of the federal executive or the federal judiciary to exercise a controlling influence over its master savors rather of *opéra bouffe* than of reality.

#### EXPANDING CAPITALISM.

An incident in the course of the development of this greater industry has been the establishment of a strong foreign policy, and the acquisition of territory outside and beyond the former limits of the country. The rapidly developing industry, the greater mutual dependence of the powers owing to the ramifications of business relations, and the jealousies and opportunities for strife engendered by the clash of the interests of the dominant national capitalists made it imperative upon the government of this country that it should have greater influence with foreign



powers, and this, of necessity, rendered the construction of a sufficiently formidable navy essential.

The idea of a strong navy which would be employed outside the country met with much opposition from those Americans who still maintained the independence of this country of foreign embroilments, but a dispute with Great Britain with respect to the conduct of that power in Venezuela furnished an admirable argument to the advocates of the greater navy policy. The navy was needed to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and is not the Monroe Doctrine as essentially American as free speech, a free press and liberty of contract? So the building of the new navy proceeded, and a new and very lucrative industry was founded for the private capitalists who built the ships on contract and caballed, intrigued, and corrupted to obtain these contracts on the best terms possible.

The profits on the building of the navy were absorbed by private firms.. The opportunity of creating a great national ship-building plant was lost, and the country became dependent for its sole effective offensive arm upon a few great firms which in their turn were dependent upon or interested in the powerful steel interests. It must be remarked that the development of the steel industry and the organization of that industry which rendered possible the production of cheap steel were necessary conditions precedent to the building up of the new navy, and hence in the last instance the national navy became a product of and dependent upon a small but exceedingly powerful group of capitalists, who were now practically compelled to look for foreign markets for their surplus products.

The acquisition of the Philippine Islands gave these capitalists an immediate interest in affairs in the Orient which was now, under the leadership of Japan, showing signs of an awakening and promised to be a fine field for commercial exploitation. A war between Japan and China, in the settlement of which the United States took an active part, was followed by a rising against foreigners in China and by massacre and pillage at the hands of a certain sect of fanatics termed "Boxers." This rising led to the active interference of the leading western powers for the purpose of securing peace, and the United States co-operated with these powers in the employment of troops in the land of another people thousands of miles away. Since that time difficulties with outside foreign powers have been not infrequent. Turkey, Germany, San Domingo and Morocco have all had disputes with this country.

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However, the entry of the United States into the group of great nationalities, whose commercialists and manufacturers are engaged in active competition for the possession of the world's markets, is now an assured fact. The demand for a stronger

navy still continues and the demand for a greater army to keep pace with the navy is made with much insistence.

\* \* \*

There are signs also that the same increase in the military forces may be directed against the possibility of civil discord arising from the eternal labor troubles.

There is a still more evident growth of the idea that the chief object of American foreign policy is to secure the best markets for American products and to advance the interests of industrial and financial magnates. All of these phenomena point to the influence of the trader and manufacturer in politics and show that the mainsprings of the international policy of the United States are to be sought in the interests of the greater capitalism.

\* \* \*

It cannot be forgotten, moreover, that the country by its rapid development of its wealth producing resources no longer occupies the subordinate economic position which it once held. It is no longer dependent upon capital from the outside. The growth of the syndicates in strength and influence has rendered the funds at the disposal of the lords of finance much more accessible than hitherto. The preponderance of wealth gives this government a growing influence which is only prevented from making itself still more apparent by the lack of organization of its military resources upon anything like the same scale as has been accomplished in European countries. How far this military organization will be discovered to be necessary is a question at once suggested by the occupation of the Philippine Islands whose proximity to Asia and consequently to the very center of international rivalry has drawn the United States willy nilly into the struggles of the Powers. That the commercial interests of this country are estimated to be very closely bound up with the development of the Orient is obvious from the anxiety displayed by the government with reference to interference in the Chinese troubles, in spite of the denunciations of those American statesmen and journalists who regarded the movement as being on the one hand a departure from traditional policy and on the other as involving possibilities which it would be the part of the discreet to avoid.

#### COXEY'S ARMY.

The crisis of 1893 produced strange psychological aberrations in certain sections of the working class as well as in that portion of the debtor and farming class which saw in free silver and the populist platform the solution of their troubles. The latter propaganda was attended with a fanatical devotion as unusual as it was ridiculous. A sort of semi-religious, semi-hys-

terical socialism not unlike that which had manifested itself on the continent of Europe, in France particularly, in the early forties made itself evident, and the "Burning Words" of Lammenais were re-echoed more or less feebly, on this side of the Atlantic by impassioned advocates of the new doctrine. But beside the mortgaged farmers, there was a great mass of unemployed which suffered privation owing to the dislocation of trade. Impatience with their lot grew more and more marked among the inhabitants of the West, whose frontier life had made them more disinclined to submission than their eastern fellows. The attacks of the free silver preachers had impressed upon the popular imagination that the government was to blame. Therefore they determined to display their poverty to the government. Hence arose the memorable exodus from the West to the East which was popularly known as the march of Coxey's army. \* \* \* As a dramatic exhibition of the poverty of the unemployed it was a complete failure and can only be considered as an example of the vagaries which haunt men's minds in times of economic stress, a species of hysteria produced by their desperate circumstances, and liable, under extreme conditions, to produce strange and even terrible results.

[Another feature of this stage was a series of fierce industrial conflicts, especially the A. R. U. strike, and the Coeur d'Alene struggle which gave rise to a greater extension of Federal power and the introduction of new weapons, particularly the injunction.—Ed.]

#### EFFECT ON 'WORKING CLASS.

But this conflict between the labor organizations and the greater capitalism did not have that invigorating effect upon the former which might have been reasonably expected. On the other hand, the oligarchy which swayed the political and business world mirrored itself in the labor organizations. The tendency which was noted in the previous decade persisted and developed itself even more strongly. The depression in trade which filled so large a portion of this period had caused the trades organizations to show a marked falling off in power and influence. Such is always the effect of economic crises and hard times. The recurrence of industrial prosperity, on the other hand, showed itself in a wonderful growth in the trades unions. But it is undeniable that this activity in trades union circles produced no adequate effect upon the position of the working class. The share of product which went to the laborer ever diminished. The liberties taken by the courts and the military, as already described, showed that the influence exerted by the laboring class upon the government was of the slightest and that their enormous numerical strength was more than offset by the wealth of the dominant class.



The reasons for this condition of things appear to lie in the characteristics of the American labor movement as it had been developed in the course of the economic evolution of the country. There had been from the beginning, as in England, to a very great extent, a failure on the part of the union leaders to grasp the significance of the struggle in which they were involved. The failure to see the significance of the labor movement resulted in the precipitation of conflicts in which the working class was confronted with the certainty of defeat. Issues also upon which a straight and uncompromising fight between the opposing classes might have been successfully waged were shirked. Thus much needless suffering was inflicted and slight enthusiasm engendered.

The fact was that the trades leaders, even the best informed of them, were continually haunted by the notion of contract. The two necessary factors of production were in their estimation placed in juxtaposition, in eternal antithesis like the ends of a see saw. One, however, could not gain any permanent advantage over the other. The individual capitalist was considered by them to be necessary to the existence of the workingman. They, even the strongest of them, were thus deprived of the enthusiasm and confidence which a grasp of the class war would have given them. Without this support their policy was wavering, indecisive and, though of temporary value, in a few trades, only efficacious up to a certain point, and impotent to prevent the returns to labor continually diminishing in ratio to the growth in wealth and the increase in the amount of invested capital.

Besides, the prospects of reward held out by the political managers of the greater capitalism to successful labor leaders had filled some of the most ambitious and capable with the resolution of gaining place and position for themselves independent of the advancement of the generality of the class to which they belonged. Many labor leaders became little better than freebooters, selling their followers in the interest of rival capitalists, turning from this side to that in the war which rival capitalistic concerns waged against each other, according to the price offered for their services. They were mere condottieri selling their modern equivalent of the sword, the power of organizing and leading men, to the highest bidder. A brisk trade was done in union labels and other devices of a similar character. Black-mail was levied. In fact, in the very ranks of labor itself there was a group of corrupt manipulators whose nefarious activities may be compared with those of the fraudulent army contractors operating in the Spanish War.

It became more and more evident that the morals of the dominant capitalism were finding their reflection in all sections of the community. A period of apathy in the ranks of labor nat-

urally supervened. Strikes and lockouts were, of course, as common as before; the struggle, inevitable in the very nature of things, continued. But local and sectional influences were stronger than the general impulse. The ill-regulated and ignorant, but at the same time generous, enthusiasm of the 80's had waned, and the all-pervading cynicism which had greeted the victories of the Spanish War with a perceptible sneer in spite of the official applause found its counterpart in the attitude of the masses of the laboring classes. Though the numbers of men enrolled in the unions grew with wonderful rapidity in the period of revived prosperity, there was none of that early abandon of belief in the power of the working class which had marked the earlier phases of the trades union movement. Leaders were stronger than ever before, the paper force of the organizations was greater, but the spirit was lacking. The crushing weight of the triumphant oligarchy weighed down the hopes of the toilers. On the one hand, their great industrial lords held arrogant sway, and then bulwarks of American liberty fell before them so easily, so bewilderingly easily that the masses of the toilers educated in the public schools to an absolute belief in the stability of the institutions of the country felt hopeless in face of the aggressions. On the other hand, the small bourgeoisie which was as much opposed economically to the advance of the oligarchy as the working class itself was bankrupt in character as well as in purse. Noisy demagogues with a talent for advertisement but with no ability for leadership occasionally appeared but succumbed to the money force of the oligarchy or wearied the ears of the populace with incoherent and useless complainings. The working class itself was devoid both of leadership and of enthusiasm. The oligarchy was in complete and almost undisputed possession of the field.

Though the official representative of the laboring class, the trades union movement, was in such a deplorable condition, the class war still found its exponents in the socialist movement. It was then in its incipient stage. With the progress of the decade under consideration it developed both in numbers and in the virility and definiteness of its propaganda. The increase in its voting strength was marked. Thus from a vote of a little over two thousand in 1888 it attained a vote of nearly forty thousand in 1896. But the progress of the movement was actually much greater than appears from the consideration of the mere vote. Organization had been effected, speakers trained, an English press established and vast amounts of literature, largely translations from the socialist literature of the continent of Europe, widely distributed.

Thus in the very hour of triumph of the greater capitalism the enemy was developing its strength. Small and numerically

insignificant as it was the capitalistic forces were not slow to recognize its potentialities. The press teemed with attacks upon the socialists and the pulpit, ever the ready servant of tyranny, supplemented the efforts of the press. Such is the free advertisement which the spirit presiding over the progress of humanity always provides and, in proportion as the attacks were absurd in their violence, the interest of the public increased, and socialism, instead of being considered as an amiable weakness to which emotional people and raw foreigners were particularly prone, received very general recognition. This does not imply that there was any particular grasp or understanding of the socialist movement. On the contrary, the views advanced both by advocates and opponents were at this particular period more marked by crudity and feeling than by knowledge and perception. Still the point had been reached when socialism could be discussed, as, at least, a possibility. Thus both socialists and their opponents began to speculate upon a time when the laboring class, tired of the insolence of the oligarchy and the incompetence of the trades union movement, might direct its attention to the new propaganda.

AUSTIN LEWIS.



## New Movements Amongst the Jewish Proletariat.

### IV.

LET us now look into the character of the theory of the Zionist socialists.

They claim to be orthodox Marxists, and their theory strictly Marxian. It, therefore, behooves us to examine it from that standpoint.

The Marxian philosophy is based on the principle that economic conditions (not economic circumstances) are the axis upon which turns the wheel of history. In other words, the way in which people produce and distribute among themselves the material things necessary for subsistence, is the basis for all human activity, upon which all else is built. This is the philosophy of Marx. This is, at the same time, his method of investigating history. The principle once established leaves nothing else but the investigation of the existing economic conditions of a given period; that is, the investigation of the ways and means in which, and by which things are produced and distributed. And while studying the economic conditions of the capitalistic era, Marx has discovered that the mode of production and distribution under capitalism leads, in the first place, to the accumulation and concentration of large capitals in the hands of a few on one side, and it creates misery, privation, suffering and degradation on the other; that it divides the people into different classes which are arrayed one against another; that it drives the middle classes into the ranks of the proletariat, and those of the proletariat into that of paupers; that it simultaneously engenders and nourishes a healthy discontent and class-consciousness amongst the disinherited classes, which will ultimately lead to the establishment of a new social order, based on justice and equality, in a word, to the establishment of socialism.

This is Marxism in one breath. It will at once be seen that no amount of scholasticism and dialectical jugglery would be able to deduce the idea of Territorialism from this and the Zionist Socialist can not do the trick either; they bring it about, however, with what they arbitrarily add to the doctrine of Marx. And for that purpose they begin at the end instead of at the beginning.

The doctrine of Marx, they say in substance, is true, but

it is only half the truth, the whole truth being that in addition to the class struggle, which, no doubt takes place, there also goes on a struggle among the nations; that in a country like Russia, which includes many nationalities, there goes on a continuous fight amongst the capitalists of the different nationalities, as well as amongst the proletariat. And, what is more, it is always the ruling nation that scores a victory in this contest. Hence, the capitalists of the subordinate nationality can never hope to become capitalists in the real sense of the word, that is, to gain control over any considerable portion of the main industries of the land; likewise the proletariat of the subordinate nationality can never attain the distinction of real proletarians, that is to participate in the main industries of the land.

The "theory" is thus based on Marxism, but upon a misapprehension thereof.

We shall, however, not quarrel with them on that account. We cheerfully concede to them the right to construe—rather to misconstrue—Marx according to their own understanding, or misunderstanding. But then, we have a right to demand of them to reason out logically their own propositions. And what would be the logical conclusion of that interpretation? It would amount to this: The economic conditions of society cause not only a conflict among the different classes; they also are the cause of the eternal strife amongst the different nationalities within the classes. In this struggle of the nations, the stronger nationality, which is in possession of the national industry is sure to come out winner, while the weaker nations are bound to underlie. The Jewish nation being the weakest of them all, having no national industry, and having no hope of acquiring one, is doomed to extinction; it is bound to turn pauper, and no one can help it. The iron laws of economic conditions have so decreed:

Such a conclusion would not be in accordance with the truth, neither would it conform to the spirit of Marxism, nor would it exactly fit the known facts about the Jewish people, but it would be the logical conclusion from their own premises.

This only logical conclusion they fail to draw, instead they seek refuge in emigration.

The abnormal conditions of the Jews, they maintain, drive the nation to seek homes in new lands, where the prospects are not much better; hence the conclusion of acquisition of an autonomous territory becomes an economic necessity. We have thus an entirely new theory which has little in common with Marxism.

The Zionist Socialists may here raise an objection. They may say: "We are not Marxists in the sense that we subscribe to every word uttered by Marx, but we hold to the doctrine in that sense that we believe in the materialistic conception of

history, and that we apply the Marxian method to the solution of the Jewish problem, and applying this method we find that the lack of national industry is the chief trouble of the Jewish nation; and that the remedy, therefore, lies in the acquisition of territory wherein such industry could develop."

This has a scientific sound to the untrained ear. But the difficulty lies just in this very application. They know not how to use the method, and, therefore, confound *economic conditions* with *economic circumstances*—the economic conditions of society at large with the economic circumstances of the Jews within society. Their theories are therefore built on quicksand, and crumble at the first touch.

In an article in "*Das Volk*" of June of last year, one of their chieftains has, as if to order furnished the proof of the correctness of the above statement. Says he:

"Socialism, according to the materialistic conception of history, is an ideal the holders of which are interested not in the name of justice, morality and ethics, but in the name of self-interest. This self-interest begets the subjective will in the class mostly concerned for the changing of society. The subjective will, however, can guarantee the realization of socialism only when it is in accordance with a certain measure of objective force. The production and the technique must have reached a certain point in its development, and then, it is only the class which is employed in the higher forms of production that will inaugurate the desired change. This is also the reason why according to Marxism the machine workers will hold the main position in the changing of the social order."

This paragraph is characteristic of the Zionist Socialist as to clearness of thought, power of expression and understanding of Marx. It is just the opposite of Marxism according to which teaching it is not the *economic circumstances* of this or that class that will establish socialism in the name of its interest. It is rather the *economic conditions* of society (the condition of producing commodities not for one's own use, but for the market, to make profit; the conditions that compel the workingman to sell his labor-power; that deprive him of the tools necessary for production)—it is these conditions that pave the way for socialism, it will therefore not be the machine workers alone it will be the working class as a whole, aided by the remnants of the middle class, and to great extent by the inner struggles within the capitalist class themselves that will help in the establishment of socialism. Whoever is not clear on this point is incapable of formulating new theories based on Marxism.

Let us now once more recapitulate the theory of the Zionist Socialist. It may be reduced to the following few formulas:

- 1) The industry of a land is always national industry.



2) When several nationalities live together under one government there goes on a struggle between the different nationalities for the control of this industry, resulting in the triumph of the ruling nation.

3) The proletariat is divided into two parts—the negative and the positive—according to the part each takes in the industry. The proletariat of the ruling nation, however, always belongs to the positive, while all the others belong to the negative one, with a probability, nay, a certainty, of falling into the ranks of pauperism.

4) The alternative of pauperization is emigration, which, however, leads to no better results.

I have formulated these propositions advisedly, because only as general rules can this theory have any claims to our attention. No theory can be called by that name when it is applicable to only one exceptional case. Let us, therefore, inquire how this theory would work when applied to other nations similarly situated.

## VI.

### NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

What is the meaning of this term? We have heard of national honor, national pride, national flags, national character, national wealth and many other things which may or may not be, but which are called national, but we have never heard of national industry. In vain will we look up the dictionaries, we will not get wise on that point. The Zionist Socialists have not as yet taken the trouble to give us a correct definition of the term. From their literature, however, we gather its meaning to be that the industry of a certain land belongs collectively to the nation of that land, which definition is neither otherwise nor extraordinarily new. But that in a many nationed country like Russia it invariably is dominated by the ruling nationality—in this case the Russian people.

This is the "Marxian" rule. Accordingly, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Armenians, those of the Baltic Provinces and scores of other peoples that pine under the Russian rule, have no share in the national industry; accordingly the Poles in Germany, the Ruthenians, the Chechs, the Italians and all other nationalities constituting the Austrian Empire have no share in the national industry of those lands, and the workingmen of all these nationalities belong to the negative proletariat, which will never be able to take part in the Social Revolution, and is doomed to pauperization. And, if we come thus far, we are bound to make the next step. The economic circumstances of

all those subjected nationalities lead to an emigration on a large scale, which is proven by the following official figures:

From July 1st, 1904 to June 30th, 1905 immigrants arrived to this country, from Russia 184,622, and out of this number 92,388 were Jews, Russians proper 3,278, and the remaining 88,956 from the other nationalities. The immigration from Austria-Hungary was 275,418 out of which number 47,352 were Jews, 22,000 Germans, and the remaining 206,066 recruited themselves from the different nationalities under the Austrian rule. To take the number of immigrants of several subjected nations alone, we find:

Jews, from Russia and Austria .....	129,910
Poles " " " " .....	102,137
Slovacs " " " " .....	52,368

We must, therefore, come to the following conclusion: The Poles and the Slovacs, like the Jews, have no national industry which fact drives large masses of their number to emigrate. In the new country where they arrive they can not hope to get a share of the national industry which is already owned by the ruling nationality. The only remedy for all those peoples, therefore, is a new territory of their own.

This is where we arrive at when we essay to make a general rule of the theory of the Zionist Socialist. We reach a "territory" from whence "no traveler ever returned".

The Z. S. will, no doubt, frown at such conclusions. They are not at all trained to the straight and narrow path of logic; they will, no doubt, try to evade the question by pointing out the incomparableness of the two; by claiming that the Polish nation really has its land, and its national industry, that its trouble consists only in the fact that a strange and tyrannical government captured and holds their land by force of arms. Their remedy, consequently, lies in freeing themselves of this tyrannical government, a thing very possible nowadays, while the Jews are, and will remain in exceptional conditions, no matter what happens in Russia. The Jew will always remain a stranger, and will never have any chance of controlling any part of the large industries.

Such an argument may sound very plausible, even scientific, to some. A little reflection will, however, reveal the weakness of the position.

Whatever the definition of "National Industry" may be no man will deny that the Germans, British, Italians and Scandinavians do own such national industry. If the Socialist Territorialists, the new interpreters of Marx, be right in their assertion, the emigration of those countries ought to have been, if at all, very insignificant. What do the figures tell us? From the year

1881, i. e. from the year since the Jewish emigration began, there arrived to this country :

From Germany .....	2,135,117
“ England .....	2,507,814
“ Italy .....	1,918,971
“ Scandinavia .....	1,319,645
Total .....	7,881,547

While Jews came altogether less than one million.

In the fiscal year, beginning July the 1st, 1904 and ending June 30th, 1905 there arrived here :

Italians .....	226,250
British (including Irish) .....	137,134
Jews (from all countries) .....	129,910
Germans (Germany and Austria).....	82,360

The nations that live on their own territory, possessing the national industry of their lands, have thus supplied us with a greater number of immigrants than the Jews that have none of these much coveted things. And we must not forget, that the immigration from Germany and England fell off considerably in the last few years. There were times as in the year 1882 when Germany sent to us 250,630 of her beloved children, and England bade good-by to not less than 179,419 of her positive proletarians. This is not guess work as is the theory of the Zionist Socialist. This is the official report of the Bureau of Immigration at Washington.

What do these figures teach us? They tell us in unmistakable language that the “national industry” and one’s own territory do not prevent the emigration of large masses of the people; that, consequently, the lack of it accelerates the movement; that they stand in no relation whatsoever, that there must be other causes for this phenomenon. It is, therefore, possible, nay, probable that the emigration of the Jews, also, has other causes than those designated by the Z. S.

Here, again, the “scientific” Territorialist may raise an objection. He may say: While it is true that the absolute number of the Italian immigrants is larger than the Jewish, relatively, when we consider the size of the two nations, the Jews yielded the greater number, which goes to prove the exceptional condition of the Jewish nation. This is true, to a certain extent, or rather, to an uncertain extent. It is only true in some years, while in others also the relative number of other nationalities is larger than the Jewish. And the years when the Jewish number is greater, it, no doubt, proves the exceptional condition Jews are in. But the exception is in an



altogether different direction than the Z. S. take it to be. When the causes are different the conclusions necessarily must be of a different nature.

In the year 1891 the government of the United States of America sent a special commission to European countries "to investigate the causes which incite emigration to the United States." Two of the commissioners, Weber and Kempster especially investigated conditions in Russia. They visited St. Petersburg, Moscow, Minsk, Wilna, Bialostok and Warsaw, besides a number of minor towns and townlets. The result of this investigation they have embodied in a report to the Commissioner of Immigration, and this report unfolds before us a heart-rending picture of oppression and persecution; of ruined lives and ruined fortunes; of broken hearts and spoiled careers.

The poverty, the misery, the agony which they witnessed, they write in the report, they would never forget in all their lives. And they appeal to their own government in the name of humanity to stretch out a helping hand to this downtrodden, persecuted and haunted people.

What is the cause of this misery and starvation? The Commission knows of one, only one: Government oppression! That is the word. Emigration from all other European countries, the commission reports, is caused mainly by economic conditions—by the poverty at home and prospects of improving conditions in America: partly also by the exaggerated tale of prosperity spread by unscrupulous agents of transportation companies that thrive upon the ignorance and the misery of the people, while the immigration of the Jews is caused solely by persecution of the government and the special laws enacted against them. That even the poverty prevalent amongst them is due, to a great extent, to this very persecution and oppression; that the overcrowding in the "pale of settlement" aggravated by the forced exodus from Moscow, as well as by the laws which closed a number of occupations to them, has created an abnormal competition in all walks of life with the result that comparatively wealthy men were reduced to begging.

Out of the many facts cited by the commission I shall here quote only one: In Minsk the commission met a contractor of government buildings, a Jew, who had just concluded a contract to build some armories in Minsk, one clause of which prohibited the employment of Jews in any capacity whatever. And this in a city preponderatingly Jewish, with a great number of Jewish artisans, which are, according to the testimony of the commission, more skilled, and more reliable than the non-Jews of that town.

The report winds up thus: "In view of the fact that the restrictive measures levelled against the Jews in Russia affect

the condition of from 5 to 7 million people, that these persons are in consequence *forced to emigrate*, and that owing to various reasons, the chief of which being superior advantages, personal and religious liberty their trend is toward our shores, we gave more time to Jewish immigration than to any other, *as in every country visited, except Russia the migration is due almost entirely to normal conditions.* In Russia, however, emigration is incited by causes within the control of the authorities. There is a propulsive force behind it which can be stopped by an Imperial edict, by an intimation to cease the persecutions, just as was done after the 'May laws' of 1882 started the exodus which swelled the figures of emigration to our country and promised to grow into huge proportions, but which was stopped by the protest which came from all directions."

To prove their contention that the immigration of Jews is due to persecution of the government the commission quotes the following statistical figures:

There arrived in this country from Russia in

1880 .....	7,693
1881 .....	10,518
1882 .....	15,900
1883 .....	7,577

Emigration thus rises according to the intensity of persecution, and drops as soon as it relaxes. And this is true until this day. Furthermore, until the year 1881 hardly any Russian Jews left that country. From that year, the year of the first anti Jewish riots, the immigration of Russian Jews dates, and it varies according to the variation of oppression.

From the year 1881 to the year 1890 there arrived to the United States through the three main ports of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore between 20,000 and 25,000 Jews annually, only few times reaching the high mark of 30,000 in one year. In the year 1891, after the Jews were driven out from Moscow, the number of immigrants takes a jump to 69,139. In the following year it again drops to 60,325, to be followed up by another drop to 25,000 and 30,000 annually. In the three years from 1899 to 1902 it rises again to an average to 49,000, and from now on keeps on the ascending point until it reaches the number of 129,910 in the year 1905.

It is thus plain as daylight, that first the possession of a national industry does not hinder emigration; and second, that the emigration of Jews is not due to the lack of national industry; that it is rather the deliberate and arbitrary oppression of the Russian government that incites emigration.

This fact becomes still more obvious when we compare the migration of the Russians with those of Austria-Hungarians.

Jews arrived to this country:

Year	Russian	Austria-Hungary.
1901 .....	37,660	13,006
1902 .....	37,846	12,848
1903 .....	47,689	18,759
1904 .....	77,514	20,211
1905 .....	92,388	17,352

We see here that while the emigration of Jews from Austria-Hungary varies within certain limits, the emigration of Russian Jews is steadily progressing, and has more than doubled, almost trebled in the course of five years.

The same thing is to be noticed with the Roumanian Jews. The Jewish emigration from that country varies with the persecution in that unfortunate country.

To recapitulate on the one hand the theory of "national industry" leads to the conclusion that the Poles, etc. ought to look around for a new territory; on the other hand we see that a "national industry" is powerless to protect the proletariat against pauperization and consequent emigration. In the third place, it is clear that the emigration of Jews is not caused by the absence of a "national industry", but by political circumstances.

We will consider the matter from one more viewpoint:

Out of the 129,910 Jews that arrived to this country from July 1st, 1904, till June 30th, 1905, 60,135 or 46.28 were skilled laborers, while out of the 226,320 Italians that arrived during the same period only 27,897 or 12.32 were skilled. It is true, among the skilled laborers of the Jewish immigrants there were 22,234 tailors, but it is "up to" the Socialist Territorialist to prove that tailoring does not belong, and is not a part of Capitalistic industry.

This again shows us that there is no reason to lament the inability of the Jews to become "positive proletarians". They do, thanks to the Almighty, proletarianize fast enough. On the other hand, it would seem that Italians are more apt to fall into the ranks of paupers. And they have a national industry.

The thing becomes worse yet when we consider the occupations of the most of the Italians in this country. Wherever there is a tunnel to be dug, or ditches to be filled, or hods to carry, or boots to shine, or beards to shave, and more such real capitalistic undertaking, we are sure to find Italians there.

We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Italians, too, are born to be negative proletarians, or that they need a new territory, or—that the Socialist Territorialist would better look out for a new theory, and leave Marxism alone.

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In the next and last chapter we shall treat of the negative proletarianism of the Jews and the positive capitalism of the Russians.

JACOB MILCH.

(To be continued.)



## The General Laws of Evolution as Seen in Social Evolution.

In my volume on "Evolution, Racial and Habitudinal," recently published by the Carnegie Institution I have endeavored to show that there is a remarkable correspondence in the principles controlling the evolution of racial groups and those controlling the evolution of social groups depending on community of acquired habits.

Correspondence in the racial characters of individuals belonging to the same race is due to Heredity with community of descent maintained by inter-generation. In habitudinal groups the correspondence in habits and acquired characters is due to Tradition with community of life, maintained by free intercourse under similar conditions and interests.

In racial groups adjustment to changing conditions is attained by individual Variation with Selection, (that is, with the superior survival and propagation of those best fitted to meet the new conditions). In habitudinal groups adjustment to changing conditions is attained by the power of tentative Innovation with Election, (that is, with the superior success of the individuals attaining the best methods, and the superior transmission, by imitation and training, of the same methods).

In the division of a single race into two or more divergent races, the first condition is Isolation preventing free intergeneration between given branches of the original race, producing initial (or demarcational) racial segregation; and this in time is followed by intensive racial segregation, produced by Diversity of Selection in the isolated branches. In the division of a single habitudinal group into several divergent groups the first condition is Partition preventing free intercourse and imitation between the separated groups producing initial habitudinal segregation; and this in time results in intensive habitudinal segregation, produced by Diversity of Election in the separated groups.

That racial evolution is controlled by Heredity, Variation, Isolation and Selection is now widely recognized; but it has not been recognized that the evolution of acquired habitudes is controlled by closely analogous principles, and that in many cases the habitudinal groups thus formed are the first steps leading to isolation and diversity of selection producing racial segregation. That these principles control both the racial and social evolution of man must be admitted. In the first place, there can be

no doubt that the powers of Variation and Heredity are his, and that in his endeavors to secure sustenance the original race has been divided, the separate branches being for many generations subjected to different climates, under different conditions of survival, that have produced different racial types. In the second place it is evident that, while living under the same climate and surrounded by the same resources, separate branches of the race that are prevented from that free communication by which community of interests and of traditional methods are maintained, will through their varied efforts and tentative endeavors develop different methods of gaining a living.

Another phase of social evolution which receives explanation from the same fundamental principles is that of the different classes brought into existence by capitalism. In this case there is increasing Partition, and increasing divergence between the capitalist class and the laboring class, although they are under relations that require more or less communication.

Notwithstanding this seeming anomaly the principles already set forth are fully applicable; for the communication here maintained is not due to harmony of interests, and the longer the relations are continued, the more conscious do the laborers become of the fact that the largest possible percentages are wrung from the products of combined labor and skillful management in order to meet the demands of those who furnish the plant and take risk simply for the sake of profit. Community of interest is blotted out. Moreover, they observe that with their class the struggle is for the necessities of life, while with those who are pre-eminently the capitalists there is an ever increasing competition in extravagance of display. The ideals and habits of the two classes become therefore increasingly divergent, and their conflict is the most striking feature in recent social evolution.

The great problems facing modern society are: (1) The removing of conflicting interests through an organization that will prevent exploitation and conserve the interests of all; (2) The prevention of overproduction and panics with the paralysis of industry; (3) The elimination of waste by some form of combination that will avoid exploitation and will give to every producer the full advantage of the most economic methods of production; (4) The opening of opportunity to all for education in art, science and invention according to the aptitudes that each may develop; (5) The stimulation of the spirit of service in these lines, and in every other line that may be found for the good of the community, by the public recognition of such services through the opening of still wider opportunity for culture in the same lines.

What method of social organization will best secure all these fundamental needs of society? This is the problem that must be solved. The socialists are the only political party seeking to attain any of these ends, and the last point seems to be outside of the program of most socialists, though I think it will some day be adopted by all.

JOHN T. GULICK.

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## A Propaganda Plan.

Through the medium of your magazine the writer desires to outline a plan of propaganda, for which he claims no originality, but which has seemed to him to offer a field of unlimited extension, by applying to the system which it endeavors to subvert the system's own method of reward, through the system's best and most valuable branch, the educational department.

Simply stated the plan is this: In every locality, where possible, an individual socialist on his own account shall offer an annual prize in money to the pupil of the high school of that locality who shall write the best essay or paper on the subject of "Socialism."

The prize to be a permanent annual one in each locality, to pupils old enough to undertake adequate research; to be no trifling sum—as five or ten dollars which would appear unimportant to the heads of schools,—but twenty-five or fifty dollars; which would almost insure proper recognition.

The name of the prize giver to be withheld from the public, and known only to the principals of the school, for the obvious reason that secrecy of the giver lends dignity, and an idea of high purpose of the contest, and does not bring the local "prophet" under personal scrutiny.

The prize may best be offered on the first of January, and the contest closed three or four months later; and judges should be appointed each year, either by the officials of school or the donor or both, to pass upon the papers, the best in their judgment to be selected for the prize, while honors should be given to the five next in point of worth; who, with the prize winner should be required to read their essays publicly.

There should be no rules governing the treatment of subject, the length or point of view; the essayist to be free to oppose or advocate socialism. Points of judgment to be matter for each locality to agree upon.

The officials of schools should be requested to send to the donor a list of the contestants, as soon as they are entered; and the donor to reserve the privilege either by agreements or understanding to supply the contestants with literature either directly or through the school library; this being one of the chief points in the propaganda. As a permanent, systematic, and national method of propaganda, the prize offering would in a year or two become widely known and should have a name, not unlike the Rhodes Scholarship or the Nobel Prizes, and it would ap-

pear that the name of Marx would lend a graceful and simple title to the prize.

Through your journal and others the necessary encouragement might be given to individuals through-out the land to offer prizes by the opening of a small department devoted to this field of propaganda, and by the advocacy of some of our best known men, continual improvements could be brought about so that in a few years the method would be perfected and generally accepted.

Some of the more fortunate comrades in the country may be expected to lead off, with offerings, and they themselves can render splendid service in the spreading of the plan, by prevailing upon friends or acquaintances in other places to establish such prizes. So that in time a society with well thought-out regulations may be founded, looking toward the furtherance of the plan, and its control.

The writer is convinced that no method of propaganda holds more vital and direct power for education. It is a keen weapon in the very camp of the enemy, and its first fruits may be looked for in a tendency to allay the world-old prejudices in a capitalistic world and make the championing of Socialism more favorable, especially among the intellectuals who predominate in the higher classes of these schools; thus causing the contemporary, rising generation to prepare and look with favor upon what has hitherto been regarded with open intolerance and fear.

Even should prizes at times be awarded to essays antagonistic to our cause (as are likely) there will be no hurt to socialism, and rather tend to strengthen the defenders of socialism by forcing them to become deeper and more earnest students.

Assuredly no time in the lives of persons is more auspicious for enlightenment and preparative than the years just prior to manhood and womanhood; at which time principles become set and accepted; even prejudices pass through the same process; and if seriously and significantly presented, may not the soul of socialism then and there be tried and measured and balanced against the spirit of egoism and capitalism with a fair opportunity of acceptance?

It may be that in time very strong opposition will develop from the powers that control, to resist the effort to have the schools enter these contests, in which event the very opposition is likely to be viewed by the most fair-minded as open intolerance and weakness, and react against them in the field of political action; also that the opposition can be as strongly met in many ways; — as with ripe conditions, — ways have always been found to gain advantage over intolerance and bigotry.

Always and ever we hear the cry that socialism can never

be brought about except by education; education of the masses into a consciousness of their condition and state; — the writer submits that here is a plan which seeks to meet this contingency and to insinuate itself into the very processes of growth of the race.

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# EDITORIAL

## The Evolution of Socialists.

One of the common-place principles of the comparative philosophy of history and psychology is that the individual lives over the race history; that he passes through the various social stages through which the race has passed in his progress from infancy to manhood. This principle has been very much overworked, yet it is fundamentally true.

Striking illustrations of its truth appear at unexpected points. One is constantly struck with the similarity of the evolution through which individuals and local organizations of the socialist party pass. The young convert comes burning with enthusiasm over his new found discovery. He believes that he accepted socialism the first time he really heard it, no matter though his friends know that it took months of argument and countless repetitions to teach him the truth. The philosophy of socialism appears so clear, so simple, so logical, so certain that he feels absolutely confident that the only reason that everybody has not long ago become a socialist is because no one had ever been able to tell the world exactly what socialism is. He sets about writing or preaching the doctrines. After having written his first statement of socialism, or delivered his first speech he sits down and waits for revolution to come.

Wonderful as it appears to him, however, no revolution appears; on the contrary the world moves on very much as it has been moving for years. If he is a working-class socialist he generally shuts his teeth together a little tighter at this stage and sits down to good solid work. If he has approached socialism from the intellectual or sentimental point of view and does not himself feel class tyranny he generally has a brief period of discouragement. He has told the working-class what they have to do to be free and they won't do it; therefore, what is the use fooling with them, is his conclusion.

Here is the critical point in his stage. If he has the real backbone in him he will study a little deeper into the philosophy, look a little closer into the history of the movement and will discover the forces which are really moving for socialism, and will recognize that they are infinitely more powerful than the spoken and written prop-



aganda. He will take new heart, and become like his working-class comrade a steady enthusiastic worker for socialism.

If on the other hand, he is lacking in persistency and determination, here is the point where he turns into the reform road and goes chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of "Right Now."

And still another way the individual reflects the evolution of socialist thought: It is proverbial that the new convert shows a tendency towards impossibilism. The doctrine of the class struggle, as grasped in its simplest form appears so clear, so simple, so logical that he makes of it a rule of thumb, by which to measure every problem he meets,—and woe unto those who do not accept his measurement. If the process of evolution is complete, he will discover that social phenomena are extremely complex, evolutionary forces many and powerful, and that society seldom or never moves forward in the beautifully symmetrical form that would fit it to the syllogisms of a system of thought. If on the other hand he is somewhat dyspeptic mentally, he is apt to develop into a confirmed impossibilist, with an eternal grouch against the remainder of mankind.

Like the individual, so the various socialist organizations go through almost the same evolution. There are the stages of fierce enthusiasm, of impossibilism, of steady propaganda and continuous achievement.

Now, none of the old socialists are at all surprised when a local from Nebraska or Louisiana or Arkansas proposes to reform the entire party and set it right on questions of theory and practice. The proposition is only met with a smile over the exuberance of youth and the joyous confidence and ignorance of industrial conditions, which are born from studying them through a telescope. We all know that as these localities really begin to meet the great industrial problem, the socialist theorist will take his post graduate course in the great University of Experience and will come out of it the same steady, enthusiastic, eager worker, of which are composed the millions of the socialist movement of the world.

# SOCIALISM ABROAD

## AUSTRALIA.

The struggle for free speech still continues in Australia. Tom Mann was recently forced to serve a five weeks' term in jail. The date of his discharge was made the occasion of a great demonstration. Laborism seems to be falling more and more into disfavor and the genuine socialist movement to be taking its place.

## BOHEMIA.

The seventh congress of the Bohemian socialist party met at Prague during the holidays. The report of the National Executive Committee stated that the number of local organizations affiliated with the party had increased from 1,005 in 1904 to 1,517. These organizations include 99,098 members. The party press had shown an especially gratifying increase. There are now sixteen political papers, including three dailies and a monthly scientific review. The circulation of the total party press had increased steadily. In addition to this the publication office of the party has kept up a constant and systematic publication of scientific and literary books and pamphlets, partly original and partly translations. During the last year 349,930 copies of the different publications were sold; 30,660 meetings had been held under the auspices of the party during last year.

Some idea of the difficulty under which the party labors is gained by the fact that 3,159 persons were arrested, of whom 2,748 were punished. The total years imprisonment suffered by members of the party amounted to 162 years, 9 months and 29 days, while a total of 88,886 kronen was paid in fines. The party press was not without its difficulties. Its periodicals were confiscated 212 times, editors arrested thirty-three times and a heavy list of fines and imprisonment was piled up against them.

## GERMANY.

It is still too early to give any definite facts as to the German vote. It is probable that there has been a slight increase in the number of votes cast, but the solid massing of the opposition has decreased the number of Reichstag representatives. The campaign was waged with a virulence hitherto unknown in Germany. Every ob-

stacle was thrown in the way of socialist meetings throughout Saxony. The restaurants were forbidden to permit their rooms to be used for socialist meetings as had always been the practice in the past. The Old Soldiers' Patriotic Organization combined with the Anti-Social Democratic League, and backed up by the united reactionary and imperialistic forces of Germany, waged a bitter war on the socialists. They threw their strength in all districts for the candidate who was thought most likely to be able to defeat the socialists without regard to the party which he might represent.

#### ITALY.

The Italian movement still seems to be in very great confusion. The Syndicalists have started a daily paper in opposition to "Avanti." The economic organizations are preparing to enter into a struggle with the state in the government-owned industries.

# THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES

One of the most convincing illustrations of the craziness of craft unionism has just been given the labor world in the printing industry. As is already known to readers of the Review, the compositors in the commercial and job houses of the North American continent, after three years of fruitless appeals to the employers to reduce the hours of labor in their dangerous and unhealthy occupation, went on strike a year ago as a last resort and determined to enforce their demands in the face of unyielding resistance not only from the United Typothetae of America, the employers' association in the industry, but also the combined opposition of the National Association of Manufacturers, the Citizens' Alliance and similar organizations whose only mission is to destroy trade unions and drive the workers below the line of pauperism and slavery. This struggle, which is still in progress in a number of important cities and towns, has already cost the International Typographical Union upward of three million dollars, but once having gone into the battle the members of the organization are fully aware that there is no retreat—that it is either victory for labor or demoralization and death to their union, which has been in existence more than half a century and is the oldest and one of the strongest organizations in the country.

However, after a year of desperate fighting and unprecedented sacrificing, during which period the members employed paid ten per cent of every dollar they earned into the strike fund, the book and job printers have slowly but surely battered down the combined opposition and all but destroyed the Typothetae except in a few places, as noted above. The Typographical Union was compelled to wage the contest single-handed, and the labor world was treated to the disgusting spectacle of compositors tramping the streets and pouring money into the campaign like water while the employes of the press rooms and the book binderies remained at work and assisted in turning out the product of scabs. The pressmen, like the locomotive engineers on the railways, in a large measure hold the key to the situation in the printing industry. If they cease work the wheels stop revolving and the business is paralyzed. But despite having this advantage, about five years ago the officers of the pressmen's union, although knowing full well that the compositors would demand the introduction of the shorter workday, made an agreement with the Typothetae in which they recognized the vicious open shop principle and repudiated the sympathy strike. Thus the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union were as effectually tied down to their presses as is a bull to his stake. It is true



that quite a number protested and charged that President Higgins and his associates had resorted to fraud in forcing the agreement through the referendum, but the protestants were squelched, and thus the printing office forces had been cleverly divided by the capitalists and an organization of 16,000 men was forced to appear in the unenviable role of assistant strike-breakers against a sister union of 45,000 members engaged in a deadly contest. Yet, as stated, the compositors gradually hammered their way toward their goal over the ramparts of the combined employers and those "neutral" union men in their camp.

Now comes a second act of perfidy that is unequaled in trade union history. While the compositors are still struggling against the routed Typothetae, which is making a last desperate stand in a score or more of important cities and towns, and just as the pressmen's five year agreement is about to expire and they would be enabled to throw their forces into the fight, assist in destroying the enemy completely and gain the eight-hour day for themselves with hardly an effort, what does President Higgins do but boldly flaunt his treachery before the eyes of the people, deserts the compositors completely, betrays his own membership, and encourages the remnants of the Typothetae by renewing the five-year open shop agreement and postponing the introduction of the eight-hour day in the press rooms until 1909! And this is the man upon whom is usually conferred the distinguished honor of presiding at A. F. of L. conventions when Gompers and other officers are re-elected! This is the man who served in the Massachusetts legislature as a "laor representative" during the period when Thomas W. Lawson declares its members were bought like sausages in the market and fish on the wharves. Is it any wonder that the great capitalists of the nation have the utmost contempt for so-called "labor leaders" and their stupid or knavish practices?

It is only fair to say that the International Typographical Union was originally an industrial organization, but owing to the craft animosities that were engendered by would-be leaders, who played upon the ignorance and prejudice of members, a gradual segregation took place until today practically all in the I. T. U. are employees in the composing room. Whether or not this plain example of the insufficiency of craft unionism and the barefaced betrayal of an alleged leader will serve to educate the rank and file to the necessity of uniting in a compact and centralized industrial organization, which recognizes that "an injury to one is the concern of all," only the future will determine.

This is the time of the year when capitalists and laborers engaged in the marine industry begin to discuss conditions for the coming season. During the past month the Lake Carriers' Association convened in Detroit and voted to give its executive committee full power to act in arranging labor conditions this year. There is a premonition among some of the unionists that serious trouble is threatening. Almost daily hints have been thrown out by vessel owners that a stand must be made to regain control of their property, that the unions are arrogant and dictatorial, that the "open ship" is the ideal working condition that should prevail upon the Great Lakes. The shipping masters who were defeated and demoralized when they struck to gain some advantages have organized into a sort of mutual admiration society under the protecting wing of the Lake Carriers' Association and are cheek by jowl with the bosses and complain that they are unable to enforce discipline on board ship. Union officials believe

that these declarations are being made with the purpose in view of establishing an excuse for making war upon organized labor. The seafaring men have strengthened their unions considerably during the past few years, and along industrial lines, and they have been watched with a jealous eye by the capitalists. Some of the latter have declared openly that the time has come to strike a blow at organized labor, and, therefore, the opening of spring navigation may witness a sea fight to the finish. What gives color to this probability is the fact that Coulby, the directing power of the United States Steel Corporation fleet, which is "open ship," is a member of the executive committee of the Lake Carriers' Association, and he is credited with controlling his colleagues and as the one man whose word is law. That Coulby is determined to obliterate unions as factors in water transportation is generally admitted. If there is any dictating to be done Mabel Gilman's future husband will do it, and Coulby will see that his edicts are obeyed. Having destroyed the iron and steel workers' organization so far as the trust mills are concerned, and refusing to recognize the mineral miners of the Northwest or the seamen on its own vessels, the octopus may take the notion to start a war of extermination against the unionists employed by the independent lake carriers who haul a part of its tonnage under contract in order to beat down freight rates. If the seamen are attacked this year the longshoremen will probably feel the iron heel next year, when their present agreement expires. The great captains of industry have now reached that point in their evolution when they not only refuse to brook interference in their own business from unions in matters of determining wages, hours of labor and other working conditions, but they lend assistance to their competitors and dependents to smash organized labor in order that they may also profit indirectly. In other words, the capitalist class is becoming thoroughly solidified when dealing with the working class in any form.

The miners held their annual convention in Indianapolis during the past month and several significant features developed. In the first place the long threatened contest for the mastery between President John Mitchell and Vice-President Tom Lewis seems to have transferred to the open. It is no secret that Lewis has been ambitious for several years to step into Mitchell's shoes, and he has become heartily tired of playing second fiddle and taking orders from a man whom he believes to be his inferior. Mitchell has been just as determined to keep Lewis in the background, and it is not unlikely that at the election next fall Lewis will enter the race against Mitchell for president of the U. M. W. Lewis' friends claim that he is more popular today in Mitchell's own state than the latter, and Ohio and Pennsylvania would be almost a "cinch" in favor of the former in an election. Another incident of note was Mitchell's statement, in his annual report, that the membership had decreased nearly 40,000, mostly in the anthracite region, and he was unable to account for such a condition. Lewis presented a table of figures in which he claimed that the loss in membership in four states alone (Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and Maryland) was nearly 49,000, the big slump being in the anthracite districts. It is reasonable to expect a loss in the anthracite field, where the "open mine" system was agreed to, thanks to the interference of Roosevelt, "the workingman's friend," who stands for nothing else but the open shop, and where Baer and his minions would naturally encourage the workers to desert the union under prevailing conditions. It is also logical to suppose that the more selfish and parsimonious miners, realizing that

they had three years of peace ahead and no compulsory payment of dues and assessments, dropped out of the union with the expectation of being re-instated gratuitously when the next struggle is due, and probably receiving strike benefits in the bargain. Vice-President Lewis promulgated a platform in his report to the convention, the keynote of which sounds: "Our organization of the mine workers of the American continent." Lewis is a strong industrialist when the miners are considered, but in A. F. of L. conventions, where he usually serves on the grievance committee, which wrestles with the jurisdiction squabbles, he always hands the brewery workers a lemon. His general attitude toward progressive ideas is somewhat contradictory, but then that is always a sign of simon-pure statesmanship in this country. The miners at the convention seemed to feel that next year the bituminous operators will attempt to drive another hard bargain, and it was the consensus of opinion that every effort should be made to meet the issues that may be raised by the employers.

It would require a Philadelphia lawyer to determine accurately which faction of the divided Industrial Workers of the World has the advantage. The De Leon-Trautmann wing claims to be flapping as of yore, while the Shermanites insist that they are it with a capital I. When the split occurred Sherman grabbed the headquarters and Trautmann leveled an injunction at him. After considerable money was turned in lawyers' fees the court rendered a decision which is a dandy straddle. It was held that Sherman could keep his headquarters and the official organ, and Trautmann could also have headquarters and as many, official organs, as he might need. According to the court, the membership are graciously extended the extraordinary privilege of paying dues to whomsoever they please—Sherman or Trautmann—which shows that American liberty still exists. As to the money that was in bank when the factions ripped the organization up the back, that remains where it is—where the court, the master in chancery and the lawyers can keep an eye on it. The great mission and delight of the legal profession is to watch money. Anyhow, Uncle Dan De Leon sees in this court decision a "great victory," while Sherman says "there is nothing to it" but good things for him. Meanwhile the Western Federation of Miners, the backbone of the I. W. W., votes by referendum to pay dues to neither faction until their convention in May decides who's who, and it is believed out West that they will formally withdraw from the I. W. W.

It should be added that this wonderful organization which, according to some of its most zealous advocates, would cause the capitalists to tremble in their boots, had its baptism of fire recently at Schenectady, N. Y., and probably by this time some of the brethren who displayed fine scorn for pure and simple fakirs and the "Slows-hulists" realize that it is one thing to prepare a fine diagram on paper and quite another to give real battle to the enemy. At Schenectady three men were discharged for joining the I. W. W. and to secure their reinstatement about 5,000 workers went on strike. The fight lasted just ten days, and on nearly every day it was announced that "we've got 'em whipped!" But it was as complete a defeat as was ever administered to the most reactionary pure and simple union. The management kindly volunteered to take back "practically" all the men and the open shop goes. As the workers of Schenectady are human and about the same as other men, they discovered that they could not support their families on stereotyped phrases and highfalutin generalities. So the men went back to work and quite likely the agitators, as is customary, will be weeded out and then the dox-

ology will be sung over the lapsed locals. I pointed out in the Review several months ago that to-day the American capitalists have become so powerful and so strongly entrenched that they don't bother a tinker's dam to even inquire what form of organization their wage slaves are connected with. If the latter become obstreperous they are given a fight to the finish, and that's all there is to it.

While some concessions may have been and still will be won from the capitalists by hard fighting, the fact is becoming plainer every day that the struggle is being transferred to the political field, no matter what desperate efforts may be made of various forms of reactionists to keep the labor question out of politics. The Socialist party occupies the correct position, politically and economically, and there is bound to be a stampede to that party sooner or later, when it will be able to swing a "big stick" in a manner that will bring down big game.



## BOOK REVIEWS

**A Captain of Industry**, by Upton Sinclair. The Appeal to Reason, Cloth, 142 pages.

This is a series of snap-shots in the life of a millionaire, who is a roue, bloated physically and mentally and who goes through life crushing strikes, making panics, ruining girls, tossing champagne to his friends, and living the life at once of a sybarite and a monster.

There are some strong passages in the book that recall Comrade Sinclair's other work,—particularly in a portion of his description of the stock-exchange panic and the final death of the millionaire. On the whole, however, the work gives one the idea of melo-drama rather than tragedy. The colors are put on with a whitewash brush. His villain is most frightfully villainous, and everything he does makes a record for wickedness. The book sounds decidedly amateurish, which might have been excused as it seems it was written about the time that the author has told us elsewhere his principle work was writing nickle terrors. It would seem as though the matter would have justified a little more polish and expansion and toning out. At any rate the story is interesting, and exciting. Few persons who begin it will lay it down.

**White Fang**, by Jack London, New York: Macmillan. Cloth, 327 pp., \$1.50.

After "The Call of the Wild" one picks up "White Fang" with a sense of jealousy and almost resentment. Sequels and replicas are notoriously unsatisfactory, and the first impression is that "White Fang" is one of these. Then you begin to read of it. You discover that while it is a sort of obverse of the earlier work, dealing with the taming of a wolf instead of the transformation of a dog into a wolf, and although there are constant tantalizing reminiscences of "Buck" running through the later work, yet on the whole it is a new creation and not a resurrected "Buck" that confronts us.

We are introduced to "White Fang" as a puppy, three-quarters wolf, in the midst of the wild where he and his mother are fighting the battle of tooth and claw. We see him develope in this battle, learn its lessons, make his kill, and then pass under the dominion of man. At first he is owned by an Indian to whom his mother belonged before she went to the forest. Here he learns that there is a power outside dog or wolf life, a strange resistless power possessed by man which dogs are powerless to resist. So man becomes a god to him, giving and withholding life and bounty and punishment.

He falls into the hands of a bestial disfigured human brute, who keeps him as a fighting wolf, trains him to a new and even greater ferocity than he had inherited from the wild and he becomes famous as a terrible fighting monster until at last he meets the "clinging death" in the shape of a bulldog, whose manner of fighting is so wholly different from anything he has ever met in the wild wolf like dogs of the north, that he is overcome and nearly killed. He is rescued by a passing mining engineer, after a passage at arms between his former owner and his new defender that will make every lover of a fighter and a hero feel good. Then comes his gradual taming, not by fear, as hitherto, but by love an emotion to him hitherto unknown.

The story ends in Southern California, where White Fang has become the pet of the family, the defender of the household, fully adjusted to all the intricate relations of civilized family life.

So runs the story, if you care only for the story, but we who know Jack London read much more. We see in the upward struggle of White Fang the race fighting its way from savagery to civilization; we see it adjusting to complex relations arising out of new achievements; we see life moving upward, with all its brutality, its ferocity, as well as its love and co-operation.

There is much more of animal psychology in the book than in "The Call of the Wild". In fact you are constantly haunted with the idea that a few more pages of this will get tiresome, and yet you read on and on eagerly, fiercely, with never lagging interest. London has met the specialists in the field of animal literature and beaten them at their own game.

## PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

### IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

We have just purchased the socialist books heretofore published by the Standard Publishing Company (formerly known as the Debs Publishing Company) of Terre Haute, Ind., together with the electrotype plates and copyrights, and the good will of the business. This purchase gives us a stock of the following:

#### FIVE CENT BOOKS.

**Socialism: A Reply to the Pope.** By Robert Blatchford.  
**A Primer of Socialism.** By G. C. Clemens.  
**Government Ownership of Railways.** By F. G. R. Gordon.  
**Municipal Socialism.** By F. G. R. Gordon.  
**Oration on Voltaire.** By Victor Hugo.  
**Socialism and Slavery.** By H. M. Hyndman.  
**Why Physicians Should Be Socialists.** By Thomas J. Hagerty.  
**The Object of the Labor Movement.** By Johann Jacoby.  
**What Is Capital?** By Ferdinand Lassalle.  
**Unaccepted Challenges.** By Father McGrady.  
**The Evolution of Industry.** By William Watkins.

#### TEN CENT BOOKS.

**The State and Socialism.** By Gabriel Deville.  
**Economic Discontent.** By Thomas J. Hagerty.  
**The Right to Be Lazy.** By Paul Lafargue.  
**The Workingman's Programme.** By Ferdinand Lassalle.  
**Open Letter to National Labor Association of Germany.** By Ferdinand Lassalle.  
**City of Angels.** By Rev. T. McGrady.  
**Social Democracy Red Book.** By Frederick Heath.

#### TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS.

**The Civil War in France.** By Karl Marx.  
**Science and the Workingmen.** By Ferdinand Lassalle.

**The Passing of Capitalism.** By Isador Ladoff.

We have also "The Passing of Capitalism" in cloth at 50c, also "Beyond the Black Ocean: the Story of a Social Revolution," by Rev. T. Grady, in paper at 50c and in cloth at \$1.00.

While these books last we will supply the five cent books to our stockholders at the special price of 80 cents a hundred, purchaser to pay expressage. These books are much larger and heavier than the Pocket Library of Socialism booklets, and if it is desired that we prepay expressage the price per hundred will be \$1.25.

The other books will be sold at our regular discount to stockholders, which is now the same on books in paper covers as on books in cloth binding. Thus, a ten cent book will cost a stockholder six cents if we prepay postage or expressage and five cents if sent at his expense, a dollar book will cost him 60c postpaid or 50c if charges are paid by him to the express agent, and so in proportion on all other books. In other words, a stockholder buys our books at half price if we are not expected to prepay the postage or expressage, but in that case he pays us three-fifths of the retail price.

Other books of which we have bought the plates and copyrights from the Standard Publishing Company, and which we shall republish at once, are "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon," by Karl Marx, and "Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism," by Gabriel Deville. These will sell at 25c and 10c respectively.

We already had over three fourths of the standard books on socialism published in the United States, and this purchase gives us at least three fourths of the remainder. Our newly-issued order list, mailed to any one who requests it, contains the titles and prices of 101 books in paper and 96 books in cloth binding. At retail prices these come to exactly a hundred dollars and ten cents. A stockholder, buying them from week to week as he wants them, can have them for half price, making a saving of fifty dollars on an investment of ten dollars for a share, even if he only buys one copy of a book. But he may buy as many copies as he likes, and may if he chooses sell either at retail or at wholesale, fixing the prices to suit himself. No wonder we have over 1600 stockholders, and no wonder there are several hundred more who write that they are thinking of taking stock soon.

But we need more capital at once to provide for the new books we are bringing out, and it was to hasten the new stock subscriptions that we made the special offers on page 448 of last month's Review. The Review was late in coming out last month, and the responses are coming in rapidly as we go to press with the February number. We have therefore concluded to extend the offers to the end of March. If you have not a January number at hand, write us for particulars.



## NEW BOOKS NOW READY.

Our binders have for some weeks past been swamped by capitalist prosperity and have been unable to keep up with their orders; consequently we have been unable to publish our new books on schedule time. This has caused some disappointment to comrades who have sent advance orders. We shall try to give definite information in this department each month regarding the books newly published or in press.

**Class Struggles in America**, by A. M. Simons, now ready, is for the first time issued in cloth binding. It is moreover considerably enlarged, and contains over 100 notes, with references to the authorities for the many startling statements which dethrone the heroes of American history and interpret its events in the light of economic determinism. (50c.).

**The Ancient Lowly**, by C. Osborne Ward, has now been reprinted in a handsome edition, the style of binding being uniform with our recent edition of "Capital." The second volume is identical in contents with the previous edition purchased by us from the heirs of the author, but the first volume contains about a hundred pages of new matter, including an elaborate topical index and translations of the Greek and Latin notes; these add greatly to the value of the volume. It would be hard to over-estimate the importance of these two volumes; they represent a life-time of careful research into the forgotten history of the working class of ancient times. Volume I deals mainly with the history of classic Greece and of Rome before the Christian era, while Volume II traces the relations between the ancient labor unions and the early Christian church, before Constantine had made Christianity the state religion. Price \$2.00 per volume; either volume sold separately.

**Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History**, by Karl Kautsky, translated by John B. Askew, will be ready by the time this issue of the Review reaches its readers. It is one of the most important contributions to socialist thought that has appeared for years, and will be eagerly awaited by many hundred readers. Kautsky is the editor of the *Neue Zeit*, the leading exponent of Marxian thought in Europe, and he is the literary executor of Marx and Engels. (Price 50c.).

We have just published the third edition of Kautsky's "**The Social Revolution**". It is in two parts. Part I, "**Reform and Revolution**", gives the oft-required explanation of why we as socialists call ourselves revolutionists rather than reformers, while the second part, "**The Day After the Revolution**," answers some of the numerous questions pressed upon socialists as to the first measures that would probably be adopted if we were in control of the powers of government.

**The Republic of Plato, Book V.** Translated by Prof. Alexander Kerr of the University of Wisconsin. With general introduction to Books I-V by the translator. Paper, 108 pages, 15c. Plato's Republic is the first Utopia, the model not only for More's work but for all that have followed it. It is in the first place a study of ethics and in the second place a picture of an ideal state, based of course on the economic conditions that prevailed at Athens 400 B. C. The complete work is in ten books, five of which are now available in our edition. The style of the present translation, while more literal than most other versions, is at the same time simple and forcible, making far easier reading for the average workingman than any previous edition. This latest book has by way of introduction a summary of the contents of the preceding books, so that it can be read independently. The price of the five books is 75c, with the usual discount to stockholders.

**A Captain of Industry.** This is Upton Sinclair's latest novel. It is published by the "Appeal to Reason," but we have made a special arrangement by which we can supply it to our stockholders on the same terms as if we were the publishers. It is a strong novel, compressing many terrible truths about capitalism into few words. Price \$1.00; to our stockholders 60c, postpaid.

**The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore. The second edition of this remarkable book has just been published, and it is selling more rapidly than when first issued. It was at once recognized by the ablest socialists as a book of the highest value to the movement. Eugene V. Debs says: "It is impossible for me to express my appreciation of your masterly work. It is simply great, and every socialist and student of sociology should read it." And Jack London says: "I do not know of any book dealing with evolution that I have read with such keen interest.... The book reads like a novel. One is constantly keyed up and expectant." International Library of Social Science, Vol. III. Price, \$1.00.

#### BOOKS NEARLY READY.

**Ancient Society: or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization.** By Lewis H. Morgan, LL. D. Cloth, \$1.50.

Our edition of this great work, announced several months ago, is nearly completed, and apart from accidents should be ready before the end of February. It has been recognized for a generation as the one great authority on the early stages of social institutions. One of the most serious obstacles to the spread of socialism is the stolid conviction that there always have been rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed, just about the same as now, and that therefore it is hopeless to try to change things. Morgan's researches prove that this conviction is a mistake, that wealth and poverty,

far from being eternal, are a passing phase in man's history, that the era of private property is a necessary transition from the limited and exclusive communism of the ancient barbaric gens to the world-embracing communism of the future. Morgan's book is not an impassioned plea, it is a summary and classification of proved facts. Its circulation thus far has been limited to a very few readers, because the price has been held at four dollars. Our price is \$1.50, with our regular discounts to stockholders, making the net price to them 90c if mailed or 75c if sent at purchaser's expense.

**The Rise of the American Proletarian.** The chapter from this book by Austin Lewis which is published in this issue of the Review will give our readers a better idea of the book than pages of description. American history is as full of facts for the socialist propagandist as the history of any other country, but thus far the facts regarding England, France and Germany have been easier to reach, and they have thus been used more frequently in our literature. But they are far less effective arguments than are the facts drawn from the history of this country. For there is a prevalent opinion among Americans that industrial conditions are so much more favorable to laborers here than in Europe that arguments from European conditions do not apply here. This opinion is contradicted by present conditions, but it is on the other hand the direct outgrowth of past economic conditions. The way to overcome it is to explain precisely how past conditions in the United States differed from conditions in Europe, and how recent developments have brought the working class of the United States into a condition much like that of the laborers of England, France and Germany. This book will be the 14th volume of the International Library of Social Science, \$1.00. Ready about Feb. 20.

**The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.** By Louis B. Boudin. This will contain, with some revision, the articles on Karl Marx and his Critics which appeared in the International Socialist Review for 1905 and 1906. It will also contain a considerable amount of entirely new matter, rounding out the subject, the entire work constituting one of the most satisfactory manuals of scientific socialism ever published. Nearly the whole book is in type, but Comrade Boudin's illness has delayed his completion of the final chapters, and we can not announce the exact date of publication,—it will probably be in March. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 15, \$1.00.

**Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring.)** By Frederick Engels, translated by Austin Lewis. This is one of the classics of socialism. It is the larger work of which "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" is a fragment, and its scope is fully explained in Engels' introduction to the smaller work. The translation by comrade Lewis does not duplicate any of the matter in "Socialism Utopian and



Scientific," and omits certain portions now obsolete, retaining all the new matter of permanent interest. International Library of Social Science, Vol. 16, \$1.00. Ready about March 5.

**Marx's Capital, Volume II.** This is the new translation by Ernest Untermann of a volume never before published in the English language. It will be published in uniform style with Volume I, and will sell for \$2.00, with the usual discount to stockholders. The type is about half set, but the printing has been delayed by causes beyond our control. It is probable that copies will be ready toward the end of March. Only a few advance orders have thus far been received, since we have made no great effort as yet to obtain such orders. We have already sold nearly 1,000 copies of the first volume, and it is selling now more rapidly than ever. The publication of the second volume involves a cash outlay of over a thousand dollars, and most of this ought to be covered by the sale of copies within the next few weeks.

#### OUR RECORD FOR JANUARY.

The book sales for January were \$1,725.98, the sales of stock \$330.06, the receipts of the Review \$324.45, and we received a contribution from Eugene Dietzgen of \$250.00. The total receipts of the publishing house from all sources during the month of January, 1906, were \$1,867.82, while the receipts of last month were \$2,630.49. There is every reason to believe that we shall be able to maintain this ratio of increase, but it will require the active co-operation of all who want socialist books circulated.

#### OUR NEW ORDER LIST.

We have just issued a new order list of books, including 101 titles of pamphlets and 96 titles of books in cloth binding. At retail prices one set of these books would amount to \$100.10. We will send the entire assortment with a full-paid certificate for a share of stock on receipt of \$50.00. They are all either socialist books or books of special interest to socialists. The list does not include the books published previous to 1899 which we are closing out to make room for new books.

#### SPECIAL CLEARANCE OFFER.

Most of these are gone, but we still have a few which we need to close out at once to make room for new books. We therefore offer to send postpaid five books in cloth binding and five books in paper covers, all for one dollar. This offer is for a set of books which sold originally for not less than five dollars. If purchaser pays expressage we will send them for sixty cents, or we will send ten books in cloth and ten in paper, all different, by express prepaid for \$2.00 or at purchaser's expense for \$1.20. The selection must be left to us. We will, however, send mostly fiction, or very little fiction, as preferred. It must be distinctly understood that these are not so-



cialist books; we are not selling socialist books for less than the cost of printing. These are, apart from the novels, either books of liberal religion (with a few orthodox or semi-orthodox books) or else books on social problems from the point of view of the non-socialist reformer. This clearance offer is not limited to our stockholders but is open to any reader of the Review. There is no time limit on it, but the best assortments of books will go to those who order first.

#### ANNUAL STOCKHOLDERS' MEETING.

This was held on January 15, 1907. Seymour Stedman, A. M. Simons and Charles H. Kerr were re-elected as directors of the publishing house for the ensuing year. Charles H. Kerr was re-elected president, A. M. Simons vice-president, and Seymour Stedman secretary. The annual report showed the business for 1906 to have been as follows:

##### Receipts.

Sale of books .....	\$17,086.03
Sale of stock .....	4,047.27
International Socialist Review .....	2,337.13
Contributions .....	867.34

Total .....\$24,337.77

##### Expenditures.

Manufacture and purchase of books.....	\$ 8,213.32
Plates for new books .....	3,349.97
International Socialist Review .....	2,432.56
Interest .....	181.75
Taxes .....	78.53
Postage and expressage .....	3,260.96
Advertising .....	1,323.19
Rent and miscellaneous expenses .....	1,746.60
Wages .....	3,750.89

Total .....\$24,337.77

In addition to the new plates, the assets of the publishing house have been increased during 1906 by \$1,900 worth of new books, figured at the actual cost of paper, press work and binding. But the most important asset is the copyrights of the books that socialists want, together with the accumulated advertising that brings in the orders. The increasing importance of this asset is shown by the fact that our book sales increased from \$10,587.37 in 1905 to \$17,086.03 in 1906. A united effort will make the increase for 1907 even greater.